

MITHRIACA III
THE MITHRAEUM AT MARINO

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

PUBLIÉES PAR

M. J. VERMASEREN

TOME SEIZIÈME

M. J. VERMASEREN

MITHRIACA III

THE MITHRAEUM AT MARINO



LEIDEN

E. J. BRILL

1982



M. J. VERMASEREN

MITHRIACA III

THE MITHRAEUM AT MARINO

WITH A FRONTISPIECE, 6 FIGURES AND 32 PLATES



LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1982

ISBN 90 04 06500 8

Copyright 1982 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche or any other means without written permission from the publisher

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus
(Juvenal, *Sat.* VIII, 20)

Ter herinnering
aan mijn fijnzinnige vriend en collega
Wim Cornelis van Unnik (1910-1978)

CONTENTS

Preface.....	IX
Bibliography.....	XI
I. General Description of the Building and Paintings.....	1
II. The Iconography and the Dating of the Paintings	12
Excursion about the Dating of the Paintings by P. G. P. Meyboom	35
III. The Religious Interpretation of the Mithraeum and its Paintings	47
Index	90
List of Plates.....	103
Plates I-XXXII and maps of the Mithraeum at Marino and of the Mithraeum Barberini in Rome	

PREFACE

This description of and commentary on the already famous Mithraeum at Marino was originally to have been written in collaboration with Professor Giulio Iacopi, the *Soprintendente alle Antichità di Roma I e Lazio* at the time of its discovery (1963). But we both had other more pressing tasks to attend to. And now that this book appears after a delay of nearly twenty years Professor Iacopi has not been able to contribute; I am most grateful to this great archaeologist for his advice and the magnificent photographs. That these could here be published completely for the first time is due to the former Soprintendente Professor Nevio Degrassi. The same Soprintendenza, but this time in the person of my friend and colleague Professor Gianfilippo Carettoni, gave permission to have a new series of photographs made of the vanishing painting in the Mitreo Barberini, which must be studied in conjunction with that of Marino. The photographs are the work in both cases of Antonio Solazzi who deserves high praise for his success in making the preservation of the religious and artistic values of these Roman frescoes possible. The plans have been accurately drawn by Ottorino Cappabianca. It is really not superfluous to refer here as before to the assistance of my wife Maria Elisabeth Clara; in proofreading and the compiling of the bibliography Miss Margreet B. de Boer was again an indispensable help. Especial thanks are due to Dr. Nubar Hampartumian and to Mrs Jane Hampartumian-Isaac (Lichfield) for their assistance in making the index and for the revision of the English.

This book has been dedicated to the memory of Prof. Dr. W. C. van Unnik, for many years Rector and pro-Rector of the State University at Utrecht, as well as being Dean of its Theological Faculty and leader of its distinguished Hellenism section.

His true friendship and encouraging interest and that of his wife Sophie have indeed given not a little support in writing many of the pages of this book.

28th of August 1981

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AJA* = American Journal of Archaeology.
BCR = Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma.
 Beck, R., *Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac in Journal of Mithraic Studies* 1, 1976, 1-19.
 Betz, H. D., *The Mithras Inscriptions of Santa Prisca and the New Testament in Novum Testamentum* 10, 1968, 62-80.
 Bianchi, U. (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae* (EPRO 80), Leiden 1979.
 Bianchi, U.-M. J. Vermaseren (edd.), *La Soteriologia dei Culti Orientali nell'Impero Romano* (EPRO 92), Leiden 1981.
 Bidez, J.-Fr. Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés* I-II, Paris 1938.
 Blawatsky, W.-G. Kochelenko, *Le culte de Mithra sur la côte septentrionale de la Mer noire* (EPRO 8), Leiden 1966.
 Boer, Margreet B. de - T. A. Edridge (edd.), *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* I-III (EPRO 68), Leiden 1978.
 Campbell, L. A., *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology* (EPRO 11), Leiden 1968.
CIMRM, see Vermaseren.
 Clemen, C., *Der Mithrasmythus in Bonner Jahrbücher* 142, 1937, 13-26.
 Colpe, C., *Die "Himmelsreise der Seele" als Philosophie- und Religionsgeschichtliches Problem in Festschrift J. Klein*, 1967, 85-104.
 Colpe, C., *Die Mithrasmysterien und die Kirchenväter in Romanitas et Christianitas. Studia J. H. Waszink oblata*, Amsterdam 1973, 30-43.
CRAI = Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.
 Cumont, Fr., *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* I-II, Bruxelles 1896-1898 (= *MMM*).
 Cumont, Fr., *Die Mysterien des Mithra*, Leipzig 1923¹.
 Cumont, Fr., *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, Paris 1929⁴.
 Dessau, H., *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* I-III, Berlin 1892-1917 (= *ILS*).
 Duchesne-Guillemin, J. (ed.), *Etudes mithriaques* (Acta Iranica 17), Leiden 1978.
 Gordon, R. L., *Mithraism and Roman Society. Social Factors in the Explanation of Religious Change in the Roman Empire in Journal of Religion and Religions* 1973, 92-122.
 Gordon, R. L., *The Sacred Geography of a Mithraeum: The Example of Sette Sfere in Journal of Mithraic Studies* 1, 1976, 119-165.
 Hinnells, J. R. (ed.), *Mithraic Studies* I-II, Manchester 1975.
 Hinnells, J. R., *Reflections on the Lion-headed Figure in Mithraism in Hommages et Opera Minora. Monumentum H. S. Nyberg* I, 1975, 333-369.
 Hinnells, J. R., *The Iconography of Cautes and Cautopates in Journal of Mithraic Studies* 1, 1976, 36-67.

- JRR = Journal of Religion and Religions.
- Lavagne, H., *Le Mithréum de Marino (Italie)* in CRAI 1974, 191-201.
- Lavagne, H., *Les reliefs mithriaques à scènes multiples en Italie* in *Mélanges de philosophie, de littérature et d'histoire ancienne offerts à Pierre Boyancé*, Rome 1974, 481-504.
- Merkelbach, R., *Die Kosmogonie der Mithrasmysterien* in *Eranos Jahrbuch* 34, 1965 [1967], 219-257.
- Meslin, M., *Convivialité ou communion sacramentelle? Repas mithraïque et Eucharistie chrétienne* in *Paganisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme. Mélanges offerts à Marcel Simon*, Paris 1978, 295-305.
- MMM, see Cumont.
- Moeller, W. O., *The Mithraic Origin of the Rotas-Sator Square* (EPRO 38), Leiden 1973.
- Pettazzoni, R., *La figura mostruosa del tempo nella religione mitriaca* in *Antiquité Classique* 18, 1949, 265-277.
- PIR = Prosopographia Imperii Romani.
- Ristow, G., *Mithras im römischen Köln* (EPRO 42), Leiden 1974.
- Schwertheim, E., *Die Denkmäler orientalischer Gottheiten im römischen Deutschland, mit Ausnahme der ägyptischen Gottheiten* (EPRO 40), Leiden 1974.
- Schwertheim, E., *Mithras, seine Denkmäler und sein Kult* = *Antike Welt* 10, 1979, Sondernummer.
- Simon, M., *Sur une formule liturgique mithriaque* in *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 1976, 277-288.
- Speidel, M. P., *Mithras-Orion* (EPRO 81), Leiden 1980.
- Tóth, I., *Das lokale System der mithraischen Personifikationen im Gebiet von Poetovio* in *Arheološki Vestnik. Acta Archaeologica* 28, 1977, 385-392.
- Turcan, R., *Mithras Platonius. Recherches sur l'hellénisation philosophique de Mithra* (EPRO 47), Leiden 1975.
- Turcan, R.-A., *Mithra et le Mithriacisme* (Que sais-je? 1929), Paris 1981.
- Vermaseren, M. J., *De Mithrasdienst in Rome*, Nijmegen 1951.
- Vermaseren, M. J., *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* I-II, Hagae Comitum 1956-1960 (= CIMRM).
- Vermaseren, M. J.-C. C. van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome*, Leiden 1965.
- Vermaseren, M. J., *Mithras. Geschichte eines Kultes*, Stuttgart 1965.
- Vermaseren, M. J., *Mithriaca I. The Mithraeum at S. Maria Capua Vetere* (EPRO 16), Leiden 1971.
- Vermaseren, M. J., *Mithriaca II. The Mithraeum at Ponza* (EPRO 16), Leiden 1974.
- Vermaseren, M. J., *Der Kult des Mithras im römischen Germanien*, Stuttgart 1974.
- Vermaseren, M. J., *Mithriaca IV. Le monument d'Ottaviano Zeno et le culte de Mithra sur le Célius* (EPRO 16), Leiden 1978.

- Vermaseren, M. J. (ed.), *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich* (EPRO 93), Leiden 1981 (= *OrRR*).
- Vidman, L., *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* (= Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 28), Berlin 1969.
- Vidman, L., *Isis, Mithras und das Christentum* in *Das Korpus der griechisch-christlichen Schriftsteller*, Berlin 1977, 237-242.
- Walters, V. J., *The Cult of Mithras in the Roman Provinces of Gaul* (EPRO 41), Leiden 1974.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDING AND PAINTINGS

In a previous study of the Mithras cult in Rome¹ it was said, that Mithraism flourished greatly in the Imperial Capital from the end of the first century till the fifth century A.D. More than a hundred sanctuaries

¹ M. J. Vermaseren, *De Mithrasdienst in Rome (The Cult of Mithras in Rome)*, Nijmegen 1951; I hope to study this interesting theme again in a wider context. For the monuments see: M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* I-II, The Hague 1956-1960 (abbreviated as *CIMRM*). In general: *Mithras, the Secret God*, London 1963. Many authors still try to minimize the importance of Mithraism as the movement of the few; e.g. recently L. Boyle, *A Short Guide to St. Clement's*, Rome 1968, 71: "Too much, also, has been made of the 'threat' of Mithraism to Christianity. There is, of course, the extraordinary concentration of seventeen mithraea in the sea-port of Ostia, but on the other hand there are only fifty known mithraea for a Rome of about one million inhabitants in the third century. By and large the religion was a small and confined body" etc. A good survey of the cult however by R. L. Gordon, *Mithraism and Roman Society in JRR* 1973, 92-121. In general U. Bianchi (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae* (EPRO 80), Leiden 1979; especially F. Coarelli, *Topografia mitriaca di Roma*, ibidem 69-79 who arrives at a total of 37 known sanctuaries, but in comparison with the situation in Ostia there must have existed in Rome about 700 Mithraea!

I mention here some monuments from Rome discovered or made known after publication of *CIMRM* I and II:

1) Marble relief (H. 0.63, W. 0.66, Th. 0.21) from Rome and now in Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum. Only the upper part of this beautiful large relief has been preserved. Representation of Mithras as a bullslayer. The god has inlaid eyes; he has curly hair and wears a Phrygian cap, a *tunica manicata* and a shouldecap which is fastened by means of a circular *fibula*. Traces of the grotto and of Mithras' right arm and hand with which he grasps the bull's nostrils. Date: end of the second century A.D. Published in *Hommages M. J. Vermaseren* III (EPRO 68), Leiden 1978, Pl. CCLXXV.

2) Fragment of a white marble statue (H. 0.31, W. 0.34, Th. 0.235) from Rome or a Roman workshop. Malibu (U.S.A.), J. Paul Getty Museum, Inv. no 76.AA.63. Upon a high pedestal is the group of Mithras as a bullslayer. The greater part of the bull except the head and the hindquarters is preserved. Mithras is kneeling on the animal; he wears a tunic, a girdle with the sheath of a dagger and trousers. The upper part of his body from the waist, his arms and his feet are missing. Part of the dagger is seen in the wound, where traces of red colour are preserved. The dog is leaping up at the wound; the scorpion is creeping to the bull's belly; the foremost part of the snake is visible on the base and next to the bull's hindlegs. Date: second century A.D. Published by Al. N. Oikonomides, *A New Mithraic Tauroctony* in *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 5, 1977, 85-90 with figures.

3) Statue in basalt (H. 0.45, W. 0.85, Th. 0.26) probably from Rome or its immediate surroundings. The monument was in 1977 in the possession of the Antiquarian Raffaello

of the Iranian god are known and other Mithraic temples still remain hidden in the Roman soil.² One of the most important Mithraea both in size and for our knowledge of the "Iranian" mysteries is the sanctuary

Amati in London and seems to have been acquired by a private collection in the U.S.A. Announced in *Apollo*, June 1972, 179. Mithras as bullslayer. Only his head and a little part of his mantle are missing. The god wears a *tunica manicata*, a girdle with the sheath of a dagger, *anaxyrides* and a billowing cape which is fastened on his right shoulder by means of a circular *fibula*. The central part of the bull's tail has been lost. On the rocky soil a scorpion is clasp the bull's genitals; a snake is creeping out of a rock towards the wound; the dog is leaping up towards the dagger. No raven is visible. Date: middle of the second century A.D. (see Pl. XXIV).

4) Relief in limestone (H. 0.625, W. 0.952, Th. 0.178) said to have been found in the Via Praenestina inside or outside Rome and now in Boston, the Cincinnati Art Museum, accession no 1968: 112. Mithras in the usual dress and attitude as bullslayer. Girt *tunica manicata* with the sheath of a dagger; the god is looking at the wound. Dog, snake and scorpion; no raven; no torchbearers. The bull's tail does not end in ears of corn. In the upper left corner and on the rocky background there is the bust of Sol whose head is surrounded by thirteen rays. The bust of Luna is almost completely missing as well as the hindquarters of the dog. Date: Antonine period. Published by R. L. Gordon in *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 1, 1976, 166-186 with Plate. See Pl. XXV.

5) Dark red marble relief (H. 0.285, W. 0.455, Th. 0.05) probably from Rome and now in the possession of the author in Amsterdam. The relief framed by two borders represents Mithras as bullslayer in a grotto. The god is looking forwards as on the preceding relief. Girt *tunica manicata* without the dagger's sheath. Dog, snake and scorpion on the usual place; the raven is missing but seems to have been perched upon the border of the relief above Mithras' head. No torchbearers; the bull's tail ends in hair. In the upper left corner Sol is raising upwards standing in a *quadriga* with four horses; in the upper right corner Luna is standing in a *biga* drawn by two horses. Date: shortly after the middle of the second century A.D. Published by M. J. Vermaseren in *Hommages Renard III*, Bruxelles 1969, 643-646 with Plate; R. L. Gordon in *JMS* 1, 1976, 167 and Pl. II. See Pl. XXVI.

6) Relief in marble from Luni (H. 0.50, W. 0.81, Th. 0.06) certainly from the same workshop as the preceding relief and preserved in Rome, private collection. The framed relief is however of a different conception. Mithras in a *tunica manicata* with the sheath of a dagger attached to the girdle, in a billowing shouldercape, Phrygian cap and *anaxyrides* is killing the bull whose tail does not end as ears of corn. Dog, snake and scorpion in the usual place. Cautopates in Eastern dress is standing behind the bull and with both hands is holding a torch downwards. Before the bull Cautes is standing, also with his legs uncrossed and with both hands holding a flaming torch upwards. In the upper left corner and above a rocky border is the bust of Sol wearing a tunic which is fastened with a circular *fibula*; his head is surrounded by six rays and next to him sits the raven facing towards Mithras' head and eyes. In the upper right corner and equally above a rocky border is the dressed bust of Luna with a crescent upon the head. The grotto is not otherwise indicated. Date: shortly after the middle of the second century A.D. Published by Elisa Lissi-Caronna in *Atti Acc. Lincei, Rendiconti* (S. VIII, 33) 1978 [1979], 443-446 with Plate I. See Pl. XXVII.

7) White marble relief (H. 0.31, W. 0.39, Th. unknown) which in all probability comes from Rome or has been made in a Roman workshop. Since 1968 in the Virginia Museum

on the Aventine under and near the Basilica of Sa Prisca.³ This temple is the largest in Rome and it seems to have taken a central place among the Mithraic places of worship. Rome and Ostia⁴ were two cities where the

of Fine Arts in Richmond (U.S.A.). In a grotto is the representation of Mithras as a bullslayer. Dress: Phrygian cap; girt *tunica manicata*; billowing cape which is fastened on the right shoulder by means of a *fibula*; the sheath of a sword hanging at a belt; *anaxyrides*. The god is looking at the raven which is perched on his shouldercape. The dog and the snake hold their heads near the wound; the scorpion is clasping the bull's genitals. The bull's tail does not end as ears of corn. Before the bull Cautopates in the same dress as Mithras himself is standing crosslegged and with both hands he holds a flaming torch downwards; he himself also is looking sadly at the ground. In opposite direction his companion Cautes who is standing behind the bull turns his gaze and his torch upwards. He is looking at Mithras' face, whereas Cautopates turns away his body from the main scene. In the upper corners of the relief and outside the vaulted border of the rocky cave are the heads of Sol and Luna: the first is looking upwards, the other in a crescent is looking down. Date: second half of the third century A.D. Published by M. J. Vermaseren in *Hommages M. Renard* III, Bruxelles 1969, 646 and Plate CCXXXIII, fig. 5. See Pl. XXVIII.

8) Fragment of a white marble relief (H. 0.78, W. 0.20). The monument was acquired in 1830 in Rome from the Collection Artur Potocki and is now in Cracow, National Museum (the Cratoupei Collection), Inv. no DMNKz 1968. Only the left part of the relief has been preserved. In the upper left corner is the bust of Sol with long hair and a crown of seven rays; he wears a shouldercape which is fastened on his left shoulder. Below him and separated by a horizontal rim is the representation of Cautes in eastern dress; he is standing crosslegged and with both hands he holds a burning torch upwards. Next to his feet is a crowing cock turned towards the right. Rocky surface. Date: third century A.D. Publications: Olga Hirsch, *Ancient Sculptures from Kreszowice in the National Museum in Cracow in Rozpraw i Sprawozdán Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie* 10, 1970, 115f. and fig. 89; R. Noll, *Ein unbekanntes Mithrasrelief und andere Funde aus "Carnuntum" in Krakau in Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 114, 1977, 204 (postscriptum). See Pl. XXIX.

9) Marble relief (H. 0.37, W. 0.385) found in Italy, but another square relief (*CIMRM* I, no 546) points to a Roman origin. Now in Leningrad, Hermitage, Inv. no A 33. Framed relief with the representation of Mithras as bullslayer; he looks at the raven which is perched on his billowing shouldercape. The grotto is indicated only by some rough lines above the raven and by the rocky soil. The god wears the usual eastern dress: Phrygian cap; girt *tunica manicata* with the sword's sheath; belt with quiver; cape; *anaxyrides*. Dog, snake and scorpion. The bull's tail ends in three ears of corn. On the upper and lower borders and on both sides of Mithras' head is an inscription (height of letters c. 0.01-0.014): D(onium) deo invicto d(edit)/ Marci Fortuna/tus / Matti T(iti) Alexander / et Pardus / et Leicax / Perinus(?) et Alexandro patri. Date: second century A.D. Published: O. Ф. Вальдгауз (O. F. Waldhauer), *Античная скульптура*, Petrograd 1923, 147 no 369 and Pl. 37; W. Blawatsky-G. Kochelenko, *Le culte de Mithra sur la côte septentrionale de la Mer Noire* (EPRO 8), Leiden 1966, 27 n. 5 and Pl. XIV; *Kultura i Islasstwo Antischnowo Mira*, Leningrad 1971, 188 fig. See Pl. XXX.

10) Fragment of a white marble statue (H. 0.56, W. 0.76) probably from Italy (Rome?). Paris, Musée Rodin, Inv. no 70. Group of Mithras tauroctone; preserved: the knees of the

oriental cults had many adherents. It is therefore not surprising that one finds evidence of the Mithraic cult in several places in the immediate surroundings of Rome, along the roads and in the smaller towns where the Romans had their *villae*. Mithraic documents are known from the Via Tiburtina,⁵ the Via Ostiensis,⁶ the Via Aurelia,⁷ the Via Appia,⁸ the Via Nomentana⁹ and the Via Cassia.¹⁰ In the Alban mountains Mithraic monuments have so far been found only at Castel Gandolfo,¹¹ Lanuvium¹² and at Corniculum¹³ N-W of Tivoli. But the very fine Mithraic grotto at Marino (fig. 1) near the ancient Castrimoenium¹⁴ promises more. In this town, whose wine was praised in Antiquity by Horace and Pliny, Mr V. Zoffoli, enlarging his wine-cellar near the

god and part of the *tunica*; the foremost parts of the bull and of the dog. Date: probably second century A.D. Published in *Rodin Collectionneur*, Paris 1967-1968, no 185. See Pl. XXXI.

² The recently discovered (April 1973) Mithraeum in the *Castra peregrinorum* will be published by Elisa Lissi-Caronna in *EPRO* (see *Il Tempo* 24.V.1973; Elisa Lissi-Caronna in *Mysteria Mithrae*, 205-212). The large cult relief preserves the paint: red for Mithras' dress; gold for his hands, neck and head. For another new Mithraeum, see Valnea Santa Maria-Scrinari, *Il Mitreo dell'Ospedale di San Giovanni in Roma* in *Mysteria Mithrae*, 219-224.

³ M. J. Vermaseren-C. C. van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome*, Leiden 1965.

⁴ G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia.II. I Mitrei*, Roma 1954; S. Laeuchli, *Mithraism in Ostia* (= Garret Theological Studies, 1), Illinois 1967. In general: R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, Oxford 1973², 370ff.

⁵ *CIMRM* I, no 640; E. Lissi-Caronna in *Boll. d'arte* 1965, 91-94 with Pls. See Pl. XXXII.

⁶ *CIMRM* I, no 627.

⁷ *CIMRM* I, no. 629. For the discovery of a Mithraeum at Vulci, see Anna Maria Sgubini Moretti in *Mysteria Mithrae*, 259-276.

⁸ *CIMRM* I, no 634ff. See also Marisa de'Spagnolis, *Il Mitreo di Itri* (*EPRO* 86), Leiden 1980.

⁹ *CIMRM* I, no 642.

¹⁰ *CIMRM* I, nos 644 and 655.

¹¹ *CIMRM* I, no 326.

¹² *CIMRM* I, no 207.

¹³ *CIMRM* II, 25 no 321bis and fig. 249.

¹⁴ The Mithraeum at Marino has been noticed in *ILN*, February 23, 1963, 262f no 2125 with figs by Prof. Giulio Iacopi; A. G. E. Twiest, *Een pas ontdekt Mithraeum in Marino* in *Hermeneus* XXXV, 1964, 164-168 = *FA* XVIII-XIX, 1963-1964 [1968], no 6572; M. J. Vermaseren in *EAA* s.v. *Mithra e Mitrei*; I. Salletti, *Un tempio mitriaco a Marino in Vichiana. Rassegna di Studi classici* II, 1965, 85-90 (see below p. 19 n. 13); R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome, le centre du pouvoir*, Paris 1969, Pls 372 and 374; H. Lavagne in *CRAI* 1974, 191-201. For Sol: *EAA* V s.v. *nimbo*, opposite p. 492.

railway-station in 1963, discovered a grotto dedicated to the mighty and secret god (fig. 2). The plan of the Mithraeum (fig. 5 and Pl. I) is the usual one. Behind a wide entrance hall (L. 13.25 m, W. 8.00 m) we find the sanctuary itself, which is exceptionally long and much narrower (W. 3.10 m) than the ante-room. The longest Mithraeum of the Roman Imperium known hitherto was that at Sarmizegetusa¹⁵ in Dacia (L. 26 m), the new one at Marino however is 29.20 metres long, which is twice the normal length. The arrangement of benches on either side with a nave in between is quite normal, as is the vault (H. 3.00 m) hewn out of the rock. Though this vault symbolizes the sky, it has not been decorated either with blue or with stars as in some other sanctuaries.

The left bench (H. 0.84, W. 0.55) which is 19.70 metres long, starts at a distance of 7.20 metres from the entrance and ends at 1.20 m from the cult-niche. The right bench has disappeared, but there are traces indicating that this bench also stopped short of the niche.

In the centre of the nave and before the representation of Mithras on the back wall is an altar (H. 1.18, W. 0.325-0.43, D. 0.325-0.43 m) with an inscription (Pl. II). This inscription (height of letters 0.038-0.04 m) reads as follows:

INVICTO
DEO
CRESCES
ACTOR
ALFI
SEBERI
D P

Invicto / deo / Cresces / actor / Alfi / Seberi / d(onum) p(osuit)

The importance of the Marino sanctuary lies however in its paintings. Immediately next to the entrance there are two panels. On the wall to the right is a damaged representation (Pl. IX) of Cautes surrounded by a blue border (H. 0.84, W. 0.55 m). He is holding up a burning torch with both hands; he wears a *tiara* with long flaps; his tunic is belted under the breast and does not cover his arms; a mantle is thrown over his

¹⁵ *CIMRM* II, no 2027.

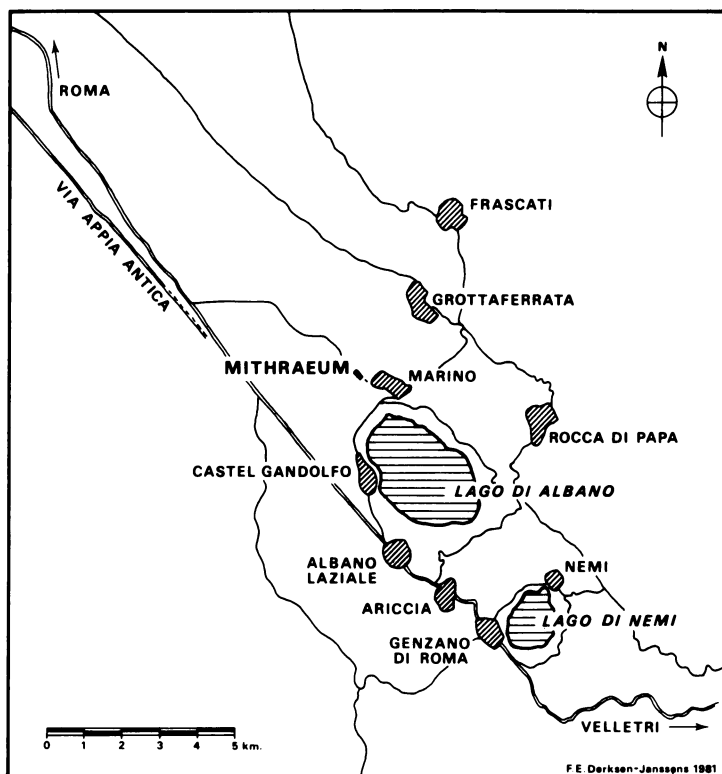


Fig. 1. Situation of the village of Marino in the Alban Mountains. Design: Mrs. Franca E. Derksen-Janssens (Vianen).

shoulders. The *tiara*, tunic and mantle are pink like the flames of the long torch, which is itself rendered in blue. Only the upper part of the figure is preserved. His left hand and both legs are missing. Along the lower edge there are some traces of pink, traces of his legs which were crossed. The figure seems to have worn long trousers.

On the wall to the left, also surrounded by a blue border (H. 0.85, W. 0.60 m), is Cautopates (Pl. X) standing with a long torch pointed downwards in each hand. Cautopates looks up at the bright flames of his torch, while his companion Cautopates looks sadly down at the ground. He is wearing a dark blue cap, a tunic with a belt and long *anaxyrides*. A long red cloak, fastened on his shoulders, partly covers his arms. It seems probable that like Cautes he had red shoes; his legs are crossed.

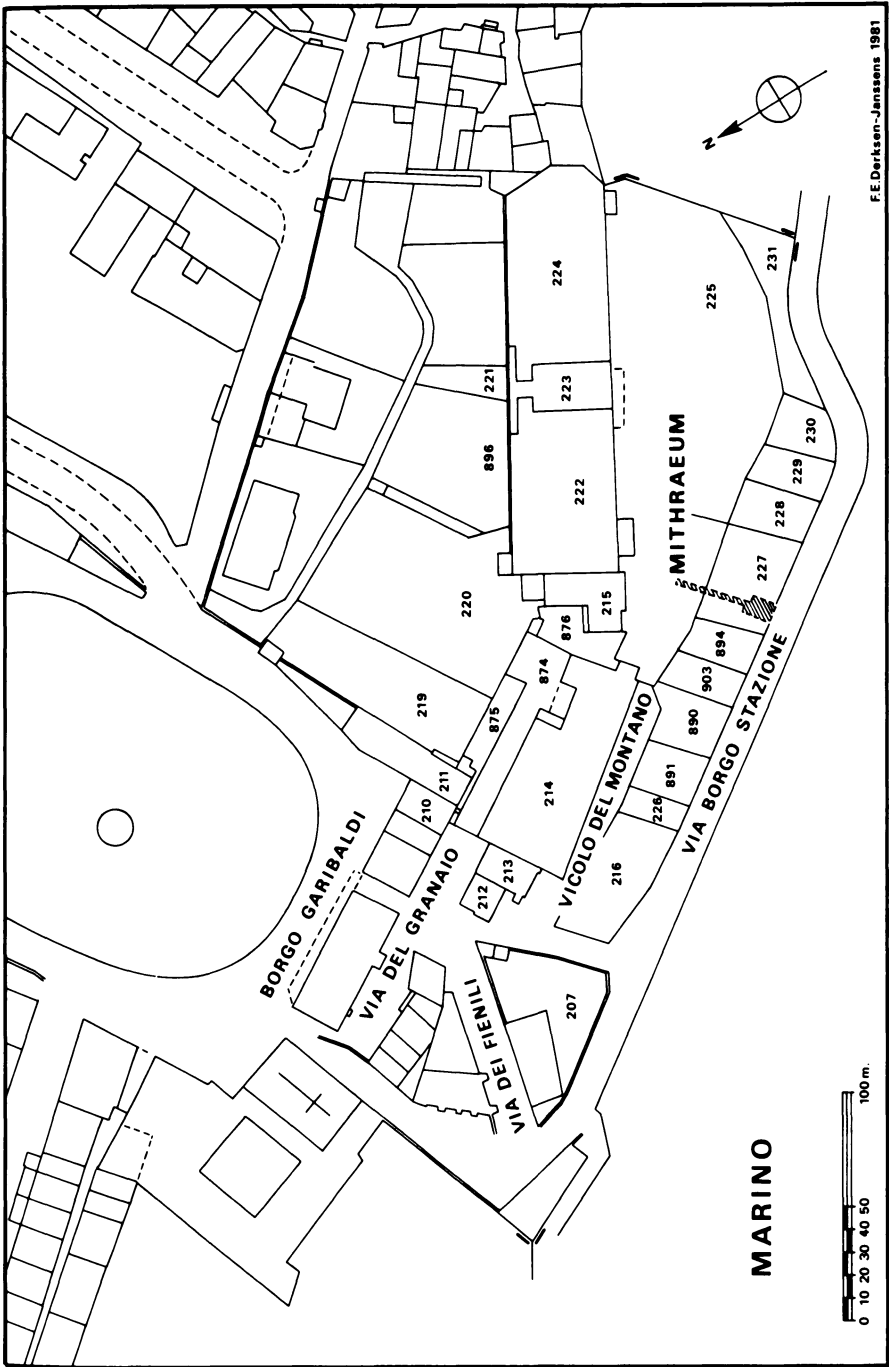


Fig. 2. Situation of the Mithraeum at Marino. Design: Ottorino Cappabianca (Rome).

The rear wall of the sanctuary is given the form of a trapezium by the vault of the grotto. It has a dark border. The background is stuccoed white and in the centre there is a large oblong painting (Pl. III) of Mithras the bull-slayer with four minor scenes on either side. The painter, whose name is unknown, renders the sky in bright blue and has outlined a wide grotto with thick clouds. In this way the contours of the alabaster grotto and the sky merge into one another. The inside of this vaulted grotto is olive-green and Mithras is slaying the bull (Pl. IV) before the entrance. The god kneels on the back of the fierce white beast; he has his right foot on the right hind leg of the bull; with his strong left hand he draws the snout upwards in order to drive his dagger into the bull's heart. The dying bull is looking upward and roaring for the last time. A wellfed young hound is jumping up against the bull in order to lick the blood. The dog is brown, has short ears ("Spitz") and has only a tassel on its throat. A long black snake creeping over the rocky soil lifts its head in the direction of the wound. A large scorpion, which is not very obvious, clasps the bull's testicles with his brown pincers. The tail of the dying animal ends in a long ear of corn. Mithras himself wears a divine and royal dress, which is almost completely covered with hundreds of stars. These stars can be seen on his *tiara*, tunic and cloak. The face of the god (see frontispiece) is most impressive: youthful, noble and vigorous like that of a prince. Though he is represented at the moment of killing the bull, his expression is not one of mourning. He is not an Asiatic type with prominent jaws; his appearance is that of a Roman of the time except for his oriental cap, which emphasizes his eastern origin. This cap is red with a few yellow stars, the two flaps by means of which the *tiara* could be fastened under the chin are now hanging loose. The pinkish-brown tunic reaching to his thighs has many folds and he wears a yellow girdle around his waist. The tunic, which has a bright blue border at its neck, is divided into two parts. The upper part resembles a short *peplos* and has a border of its own, which is embroidered with vertical narrow yellow, possibly gold stripes, like the border of the lower part. The tunic has long sleeves (*manicata*) with yellow borders. The god wears *anaxyrides* and sandals. These trousers are divided into various sections by narrow yellow lines, and also by one broad vertical border. There are yellow dots in the sections; it is not at all impossible that the trousers were decorated with

jewels. A long, heavy, billowing cloak is fastened on his shoulders either with a circular *fibula* or a precious stone. A similar stone may also be fastened to the point of his cap. The cloak is brown, but its lining is sky blue. Among the stars are seven larger ones, which undoubtedly represent planets. Mithras is looking at one of the broad rays, sent to him by Sol, which partially illuminates the dark grotto. The bust of Sol can be seen in the upper left corner outside the grotto. He wears a brownish-red shoulder cape; he has wildly curling hair; his head is surrounded by a yellow *nimbus*. He is looking with a serious expression on his face at Mithras and from his head seven rays, four short and three long, radiate. A black raven is perched in front of him on the rocky border of the grotto. In the upper right corner is the bust of Luna; her head is also surrounded by a *nimbus* and she is looking downwards. A torch-bearer is standing cross-legged on either side of the scene of Mithras the bull-slayer. Both torch-bearers are standing on a pedestal, which forms at the same time the lower part of the grotto's side-walls. Behind the bull is Cautes (Pl. V) who is looking upwards and who is lifting up a long blazing torch with both hands. He resembles Mithras, his face and brownish curling hair are almost the same, but his dress is simpler. He wears a red *tiara* and a short red tunic girt below his breast which does not cover his arms. A long cloak is fastened on his shoulders. His legs are uncovered, but he wears red leather shoes which are fastened with crossed laces. Cautopates (Pl. VII) is standing cross-legged on the other side, in front of the bull and on a higher pedestal. He has long curling hair that is covered by a small brown cap. He seems uninterested in the bull's death. He holds a torch pointed downwards in each hand. His dress is not the same as that of Cautes; his tunic is bright blue and reaches to his thighs, and over it he has a brown cloak, which also covers his arms and is fastened there with laces. His legs are bare and he wears yellow shoes with red laces. On either side of this large well-executed painting there are four smaller scenes, divided from each other by black borders.

From top to bottom one sees:

On the left (Pls V and VI):

1) *The battle between Jupiter and the Giants.*

Jupiter appears in the sky, but only the upper part of his body is visible above a red horizontal stripe. The god is bearded and his short

shoulder cape is billowing in the wind. In his upraised right hand he holds a thunderbolt poised to kill a nude Giant. This Giant is turned towards Jupiter and is represented emerging from the earth. He has long writhing snakes as feet and in both upraised hands he seems to be holding stones. A second Giant is visible on his left, who is falling with outstretched snake-arms and feet.

2) *Saturn.*

The god is reclining on his left arm facing right. He is bearded and wears a long purple garment with a broad girdle around his waist. His head is covered with a long veil. Both arms are bare from the elbow. In his right hand resting on his right knee he holds a sickle (*harpè*).

3) *Mithras' rockbirth.*

Mithras is emerging from a rough yellow stone which resembles a large globe. His legs are still in the earth. He wears a reddish-brown *tiara*, a *tunica manicata* and trousers. Both his hands are raised, the left holding a burning torch, the right a dagger.

4) *Mithras riding the bull.*

The white bull is facing right. The god is sitting astride and grasps the left horn of the bull with his right hand; his left hand is outstretched. Mithras wears a reddish-brown *tiara*, a *tunica manicata*, *anaxyrides* and shoes.

On the right (Pls VII and VIII):

5) *Mithras taurophorus.*

The god is carrying a young white bull on his shoulders towards a grotto. Mithras wears the usual brownish-red garments, *tiara*, *tunica manicata*, *anaxyrides* and shoes. The bull's forelegs drag the soil. The arched grotto is indicated at the right side in grey and dark-blue.

6) *Sol kneeling before Mithras.*

Sol (at the left) is completely nude and is kneeling before Mithras, who is walking towards him from the right. Sol tries to grasp Mithras' right knee with his right hand, his left hand is outstretched. The sungod has a *nimbus* out of which shoot three red rays. Mithras in his usual reddish-brown clothing, but now also with a billowing shoulder cape, holds in his uplifted right hand a shin-bone club in order to confer the accolade on Sol. Mithras' left fist is clenched.

7) *Treaty between Sol and Mithras.*

On either side of a flaming square altar stand Sol (left) and Mithras (right). Sol is nude except for a long red shoulder cape. His wild hair is surrounded by a *nimbus*. His left hand is outstretched with open palm, and his right he holds above the altar. This altar stands on a small base. Mithras who is clad now in full state, also wearing a long reddish-brown shoulder cape, touches Sol's right wrist with his right hand.

8) *Water-miracle.*

Mithras (left) is standing before a rock. He wears reddish-brown clothing, his shoulder cape billowing. With both upraised hands he holds a bow and long arrow aimed at the rock. Before the rock kneels a person, also in a red oriental costume, with upraised hands. The painting is somewhat worn.

As far as is known no other finds, such as terra sigillata and coins, have been made.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ICONOGRAPHY AND THE DATING OF THE PAINTINGS

It has already been observed that this painting in the Mithraeum at Marino belongs to a certain type the closest analogy of which is the painting (Pl. XI) in the Mitreo Barberini in Rome,¹ where the sanctuary itself however is completely different (see fig. 6). It is necessary therefore to pay extensive attention to this painting for the sake of science and to describe it minutely since like those at Marino and in the Mithraeum under the Church of Sta Prisca the paintings soon will have disappeared.

In the centre (Pl. XII) Mithras is slaying the bull. The background of the painting is white; the bull also is painted a somewhat darker white, except for the dark red blood. The god (Pl. XIII) wears a turquoise phrygian cap with two flaps; his *tunica manicata* and the *anaxyrides* are also turquoise. In addition, he wears a bright red billowing shoulder cape, fastened on each shoulder by a large circular dark brown brooch. The interior part of this cape is painted dark brown and decorated with seven bright stars. Each star has eight rays; seven other stars, also with eight rays, originally were visible in the field, four at the left and three at the right side of the bullslayer. Mithras, who wears brown sandals, grasps the bull with his left hand under the chin and thrusts the dagger into the heart. The bull's tail seems to end either in one large ear of corn or in three fine cornears.² A brown dog leaps up against the bull's breast and licks the blood. A long, dark green snake is creeping over the soil, lifting up its head to drink the blood. A scorpion of dark brown colour clasps with its pincers the genitalia of the bull. Before the victim Cautopates is standing with legs uncrossed and looking towards the bull-slaying. He holds in his right hand a long, thin burning torch downwards, the flames being indicated by a red colour. He wears a

¹ *CIMRM* I, nos 389-390.

² In my note book of 20.2.1947 I wrote that there seem to be three fine ears of corn, but very indistinct.

green phrygian cap with two flaps, a short tunic with long sleeves, long trousers and a shoulder cape which is fastened by a brooch on his right shoulder. The whole garment is coloured brown, but on the tunic traces of green are visible. The long cape, which he holds with his left hand at its border, shows traces of red. Behind the bull his companion Cautes is also standing with legs uncrossed and in the same dress. But the *tunica* and the trousers are more distinctively green and the borders of the mantle are clearly painted red. The head of Cautes is not clearly visible; he certainly wears a green cap and with both hands he holds upwards a long flaming torch.

Above this main scene is an arch (Pl. XVI) in which the twelve signs of the zodiac have been represented (from the right to the left) all in brown colour: running Aries—running Taurus—Gemini embracing each other, the left one holding a staff in his left hand—Cancer—leaping Leo—standing Virgo in long garment and with outstretched right hand (all these six signs are turned towards the centre i.e. towards the left)—standing winged Libra holding in her right hand a pair of scales and pressing her left hand against her body (Pl. XVI)—Scorpio (Pl. XIV)—a Centaur as Sagittarius—leaping Capricorn with uplifted neck and head with two horns—standing Aquarius pouring water from a vessel which he holds upside down with his outstretched left hand. He holds the other hand before his body—two crossed Pisces; the tail of one is just visible below the feet of Aquarius (except for the Fish all these six signs are turned towards the centre i.e. towards the right).

In the centre of the zodiac (Pl. XVI) is a turquoise globe decorated with an oblique band on which a nude brown male figure with lion's head is standing. This Aion is entwined two times by a green snake who puts its head on that of the lion-headed person.

Above the Zodiac is a second arch with a row of six altars alternating with trees, three on either side. The seventh altar is supposed to be hidden behind the figure of Aion. The trees each have three branches, the altars are burning, the flames indicated in dark red. Between the two arches and in the left corner a brown bird is seen.

Above the raven (Pl. XIV) the head of Sol encircled by a *nimbus* and a crown of thirteen rays one of which is much longer and darts out becoming wider towards the mantle of Mithras. In the right corner the

bust and head of Luna with a large brown *nimbus* behind her shoulders. The *tunica* has a turquoise colour.

On either side of the central painting there are five smaller scenes, divided from each other by brown borders. In general the figures are also painted brown. From top to bottom:

On the left (Pl. XIV):

1) *The battle between Jupiter and the Giants.*

Jupiter is walking towards the right; a piece of his mantle is visible over his outstretched left arm. He is going to defeat with a thunder-bolt a Giant kneeling before him and whose body ends in a snake.

2) *Oceanus-Saturn.*

On a brown rocky couch with some green spots a person is reclining. Only the lower part of his body is covered with a mantle.

3) *Mithras' rockbirth.*

Mithras emerging from the rock. He wears a tunic and a green cap. He holds in his upraised hands a torch (r) and a knife (I). He is flanked by two tall persons wearing a green tunic and a long dark brown mantle. It seems that the left person is holding his left hand to his mouth.

4) *Water-miracle.*

Mithras is standing, facing right. He wears oriental dress (cap, tunic and mantle) and he is shooting an arrow from a bow. Before him a person in oriental dress in kneeling attitude. A second person also in oriental dress and with outstretched hands is kneeling, facing right before a rock.

5) *Mithras taurophorus.*

Mithras carrying the bull on his shoulders, facing right.

On the right (Pl. XV):

6) *Repast.*

A large couch in a half circular form and covered by a cloth with clearly visible folds. Seven persons are reclining. Before the couch is a tripod with a bull's head and probably a loaf. On the left a tall standing person (Mithras) in eastern attire (cap, tunic, trousers, red shoulder cape) who holds his right hand before his mouth.

7) *Ascension.*

Sol standing in a *quadriga*, facing right. He wears a green *tunica manicata* and a red shoulder cape; his head is surrounded by eleven rays. He stretches out his right hand in order to help Mithras to ascend. Only a few traces of Mithras partly outside the panel are preserved.

8) *Treaty.*

Mithras and Sol are standing on either side of a column-like altar. Sol is nude except for a brown shoulder cape; Mithras wears a grey tunic, trousers and cap, but a red shoulder cape. Each of them holds with his right hand an iron staff to which little vertical and circular pieces are attached.

9) *Mithras-Atlas.*

Between two cypress-trees Mithras is kneeling to the right; with his left hand resting on the yellow painted soil and with his upraised right hand sustaining an arch above him. Mithras wears a brown cap, a green girt *chiton*, green trousers and a red shoulder cape.

10) *Sol before Mithras.*

Nude Sol is kneeling before Mithras with both hands upraised. Mithras is standing before him with legs wide-spread and holds with his right hand an indistinct yellow object (? club; cap; rhyton) above Sol's head, whereas with his left hand he seems to touch the crown which decorates Sol. Mithras wears a green cap, a grey *tunica manicata*, grey *anaxyrides* and a red shoulder cape.

A second monument which is akin to both Marino's and Barberini's paintings and belongs to the same group, is the marble relief³ from Nesce (*Nersae*) in the Abruzzes (Pl. XX). There is however one difference: the side panels continue only to the lower half of the relief, where now Cautes (l) and Cautopates (r) are represented. The artist needed this space, since he preferred to accentuate the bullslaying in an extraordinary way by making an especially large group. On the other hand having less space for the side panels, he had to reduce these to three on each side.

³ *CIMRM* I, no 650.

*On the left:*1) *The battle between Jupiter and the Giants.*

In the foreground two kneeling Giants with snake's feet. Jupiter standing behind them in cloak. He holds in his upraised right hand the lightning bolt and with his left hand he grasps one of the Giants by his hair.

2) *Saturn.*

Reclining bearded person who with his left hand supports his head and in his right hand holds a *harpè*. He wears a long veil and a mantle covering the lower part of his body. Above him the branch of a tree.

3) *Mithras' rockbirth.*

Mithras with outstretched arms is emerging from the rock; he wears only a phrygian cap. On either side a standing person in oriental dress (cap; girt *tunica*; trousers; shoulder cape) each holding the right hand to the mouth.

*On the right:*4) *Mithras riding the bull.*

Mithras with outstretched right hand riding the bull running towards the right. The foremost part of the scene is lost.

5) *Treaty.*

On either side of a small burning altar are the standing Mithras (r) and the kneeling naked Sol (l). Both hold a dagger in the right hand: Sol holds the dagger downwards and Mithras holds his' upwards. Mithras has no object in the left hand. Sol lays his left hand on the outstretched right arm of Mithras.

6) *Sol kneeling before Mithras.*

Sol with billowing shoulder cape is kneeling before Mithras. He has no object in his left hand; with his upraised right he embraces Mithras who walks up towards him with a club or drinking horn in his outstretched right hand. Mithras puts his left arm around Sol's head.

Comparing this group of three monuments we arrive at the following schemes:

LEFT PANELS

MARINO	BARBERINI	NERSAE
Jupiter and the Giants	Jupiter and the Giants	Jupiter and the Giants
Saturnus	Saturnus	Saturnus
Mithras' rockbirth	Mithras' rockbirth	Mithras' rockbirth
Mithras riding the bull	Water-miracle	---
---	Mithras taurophorus	---

RIGHT PANELS

Mithras taurophorus	Repast	Mithras riding the bull
Sol kneeling before		
Mithras	Ascension	Treaty
Treaty	Treaty	Sol before Mithras
Water-miracle	Mithras-Atlas	---
---	Sol before Mithras	---

Of these three composite monuments found in, or in the neighbourhood of, Rome, only the relief from Nersae is datable with certainty. The relief⁴ is dedicated by Apronianus *rei p(ublicae) ark(arius)* who had made it at his own expense (*sua pecunia*). The same treasurer of the public revenues⁵ of the Aequiculi is known to have been restored⁶ the Mithraic sanctuary (*spelaeum Solis invicti Mithrae*) also at his own expense after it had been heavily damaged by time (*vetustate collapsum*). From the same findspot as the large relief ("in località S. Silvestro") is another inscription,⁷ found "in contrada Silvestri vicino il casale Domizi" and which is dedicated to the invincible Mithras again by Apronianus on 25 June,⁸ A.D. 172. It is not impossible that this latter inscription was erected on the very same day that Apronianus handed over to the community the newly restored Mithraeum. This becomes

⁴ G. Mancini, *Il culto mitriaco nel territorio Abruzzese*, Casalbordino 1932 (reprint from the *Atti del Convegno storico Abruzzese-Molisano* 1931), not accessible.

⁵ Ruggiero, *Diz. ep.*, s.v. *arcarius*. For Mithraism, see *CIMRM* I-II, the epigraphical index s.v. *arcarius*.

⁶ CIL IX, 4110; Cumont, *MMM* II, no 153; *CIMRM* I, no 648.

⁷ CIL IX, 4109; Cumont, *MMM* II, no 152; Dessau, *ILS*, 4190; *CIMRM* I, no 647.

⁸ Note that this dedication (*Maximo et Orfito consulibus*, which Apronianus made through the Father of the community (*per C. Arennium Reatinum patrem*), records the day of the summer-solstice and is the counterpart of 25th December, the day of Mithras' birth. For other dates, Vermaseren-van Essen, *Exc. S. Prisca*, 122f.

almost certain when one compares an inscription on an altar⁹ from A.D. 239, discovered in Virunum (Noricum) in the 17th century. This altar found in the so-called Zollfeld, where a Mithraeum existed with a composite relief,¹⁰ mentions that it was dedicated to *Sol invictus Mythras* (sic) on the 25th of June on the occasion of the restoration of the temple (*templum vetustate collapsum*) with its painting (*cum pictura*) by Hilarus *Aug(usti) lib(ertus) tab(ularius) p(atrimonii?) r(egni) N(orici)* and by Epictetus *ark(arius) Aug(usti) n(ostri)* at their own expense. Indeed, there is a great resemblance between the inscriptions from Nesce and Virunum, but there also is one small difference. In the inscription from Virunum the *pater* of the community (*sacerdote Licinio Marcello patre sacrorum*) is mentioned on the inscription which records the restoration of the sanctuary, whereas at Nesce the *pater*, C. Arennius Reatinus, is mentioned separately on another inscription. This leads to the conclusion that at Nesce the *arcarius* Apronianus offered to the Mithraic community (*ordo*) both the restored sanctuary itself and a new marble relief, but that as a token of gratitude the Father and the community offered him an altar (the words *de pecunia sua* are now omitted) to dedicate it personally to the invincible god. This means that the relief must also be dated the 25th of June A.D. 172. The opening of the restored temple was a special day of feast, as we know from the new paintings on the second layer in the Mithraeum of Santa Prisca in Rome;¹¹ here in the mountains of the Abruzzi the Father and Apronianus choose the day of solstice, when the sun starts to ripen the grain and the fruits. Apronianus became an important person in the country of the Aequiculi and he favoured especially the oriental cults. Another inscription from Nesce¹² mentions that Apronianus together with his two children dedicated statues of Serapis and Isis. Apronianus' children bear the names of Aequicula Bassilla and Aequiculus Apronianus; they

⁹ CIL III, 4800; *MMM* II, no 405; Dessau, *ILS*, 4198; *CIMRM* II, no 1438.

¹⁰ *CIMRM* II, no 1430.

¹¹ Vermaseren-van Essen, *Exc. S. Prisca*, 148ff.

¹² CIL IX, 4112; Dessau, *ILS*, 4381; Vidman, *Syll.*, no 477; Malaise, *Inv.*, 54; 342 no 24; Malaise, *Cultes*, 81f. The terminology *signa Serapis et Isidis cum ergasteris suis et aediculam in scholam* is uncertain; Dessau: *ergasterium plerumque non multum differt a taberna. Quid hic subsit, incertum*; Vidman: *omnia incerta* as to *ergasterium*; Malaise: un édifice, dans un local de réunion qui semble être celui du sénat municipal.

are therefore *liberti* of the city. But Apronianus himself, already *arkarius* is still a *servus publicus*, which he no longer is in the Mithraic inscriptions. His beneficent works for the city and its religious communities will have been the reason for the municipal senate (*decuriones*) giving him the same favour of the *manumissio*, but it might also be that Apronianus had to remain a *reipublicae servus* in order not to lose his office.

In Marino¹³ the situation is not much different from that in Nesce. Situated in the mountains near Rome, the Mithraeum is generally dated between A.D. 160-170 (Bianchi Bandinelli) or even exactly in A.D. 161 (Andreae) on stylistic grounds. The benefactors of this Mithraic community appear to have been (above p. 5) Alfius Severus and *actor* Cresces. Cresces therefore is a private administrator,¹⁴ probably a *servus*, of the more important Severus, whose name in the altar is written as Seberus. The inscription does not give any title to Severus, neither a public nor a religious one. Lavagne¹⁵ supposes that he might have been the *pater* of his community consisting of members who were connected with the stonequarries of *peperino* (*saxum albanum*) situated opposite the Mithraeum in the so-called *Lucus Aquae Ferentinae*.¹⁶ Worse is the suggestion that the "very oriental" painting might have been due to the soldiers of the *legio II Parthica* which is attested at Albano only at a later date.¹⁷ Also in another Mithraic inscription from Tibiscum¹⁸ in

¹³ The Mithraeum (12, Via del Borgo della Stazione) and the paintings (see above p. 4 n. 14) are also mentioned by Valnea Santa Maria Scrinari, *Restauri d'arte in Italia, VIII° settimana dei musei italiani*, May 1965, 41 no 15; R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome, the centre of power*, London 1970, 332 fig. 374 (after *EAA* V, 1963, 116) and 331 fig. 372 (detail of Sol after *EAA* V, 1963, 492); LeRoy A. Campbell, 88 n. 27; B. Andreae, *L'Art de l'ancienne Rome*, Paris 1973, 253 and fig. 105; H. Lavagne, *Le Mithréum de Marino* in *CRAI* 1974, 191-201; H. Lavagne, *Les reliefs mithriaques à scènes multiples en Italie* in *Mélanges Pierre Boyancé*, Rome 1974, 481-504; F. Coarrelli, *Dintorni di Roma*, Roma 1981, 113f.

¹⁴ Ruggiero, *Diz. ep.*, s.v. *actor*.

¹⁵ Lavagne in *CRAI* 1974, 200 who erroneously reads M. Alfius Severus, but there is no *praenomen* mentioned. The name does not at all imply a date in the Severan period.

¹⁶ G. Lugli, *Tecnica edilizia*, Rome 1957, 302.

¹⁷ Lavagne, 201 who refers to G. Henzen, *La legione seconda Partica e la sua stazione a Albano* in *Ann. Ist.*, 1878, 73-88; G. Lugli, *La legione seconda Partica e il suo sepolcreto nell'agro albano in Ausonia IX*, 1914, 211-265 = G. Lugli, *Studi e ricerche su Albano archeologico*, Roma 1968, 124-178.

¹⁸ *CIMRM* II, no 2153. Other *actores* in a Mithraic context: *CIMRM* I, no 547; *CIMRM* I, no 361; *CIMRM* II, no 2011.

Dacia the *actor* Hermadio bears one name only nor is anything more definite said about his master Turranius Dil... whose *praenomen*, as in the case of Severus, is not mentioned. Both inscriptions point to a sanctuary of citizens only and not of military character; in both cases a date is not given.

It has already been observed¹⁹ that according to the style of painting the fresco at Capua is closely related to that of Marino; but according to the typology the Marino fresco is most closely akin to that in the Barberini Mithraeum. The fresco at Capua is also dated to the Antonine period and again only on stylistic grounds. Nor in the Barberini Mithraeum does any inscription²⁰ indicate an exact date. G. Annibaldi,²¹ who published it summarily for the first and last time, suggests the second half of the second century as the date for the first period of both Mithraeum and fresco; A. Grabar,²² who recently reproduced a detail of the fresco, attributes it to the third century. On the other hand, and according to its typology, the Marino fresco is more closely akin to the Nersae relief, since the sequence of the panels both on the left, as well as on the right sides, has to be read from top to bottom (see below). It is therefore not impossible that the sculptor of the Nersae relief in A.D. 172 came under the influence of the painter of Marino. The basic concept is nearly the same, especially in the execution of the main motif of the bull-slaying, but the side panels have been worked out in a different way. In the main scene of the tauroctony both painting and relief (Pls IV and XX) accentuate the divine message of Sol by means of the eyes of Mithras which are directed to heaven; Mithras has in both representations the same curled hair, energetic nose and mouth; he wears exactly the same tripartite dress; the scorpion, snake and dog are in the same place, but still more noteworthy is the fact that in Marino and Nersae the position of Cautes behind and of Cautopates before the bull are the same and contrary to the more generally accepted attitude.²³

¹⁹ Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* I, 11; 51.

²⁰ *CIMRM* I, no 391.

²¹ G. Annibaldi, *Il Mitreo Barberini* in *BCR* 76, 1943-45 [1947], 97-108.

²² A. Grabar, *The beginnings of Christian Art*, London 1967, 79, fig. 73.

²³ I did not express myself accurately when writing in *Mithriaca* II, 14 about the torchbearers on the stucco in the Mithraeum at Ponza: "who duly stand under Sol and Luna". I would note the orientation of the Mithraeum and lay stress upon the descent of

I suppose that in Marino this position of the torchbearers in the main scene of the Mithraeum was due to the reversed positions of Cautes (right) and of Cautopates (left) near the entrance (Pls IX-X). This necessity did not exist, as far as we know, in Nersae; the position of the torchbearers on the relief might therefore be simply an indication of the influence the Marino painting had on the similar representation of Nersae. It is remarkable that the painting of Capua also shows the same position and even the same stiff hierarchic attitude of the torchbearers as in the Marino painting; other similarities are the long ray darting out from Sol's radiate head and indicating the relationship with Mithras and finally the blue mantle of Mithras decorated with golden stars and the white bull which is killed. All of these features are more easily realized by a painter than by a sculptor, though not excluded for the latter. It is clear that the groups Capua-Marino and Nersae are to be attributed to the same period. On the other hand, Marino-Nersae and Barberini belong to one group of composite representations with side panels. But it becomes immediately clear that the conception of the Barberini painting (Pl. XI) is much more elaborate and intricate; it shows at the same time a completely distinct style and use of different colours. The main scene of the Barberini painting shows less religious movement and action than there are in the Capua-Marino group, which was clearly conceived under the influence of the religious atmosphere of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, when Mithraism still had to struggle for a definitive victory. Whereas the Barberini painting already shows this victory and some indifference in the expression of the sacred story during the now completed favorable period of the Severi. But the group of Marino-Nersae and Barberini have one common feature i.e. in imitation of the triumphal arches and columns the Mithraic artists have to start to tell not only the main heroic and beneficent deed of Mithras, but all the wonderful deeds of the god, as told by the priests. And the artist's task consisted of relating these stories in a general scheme of

Luna here accentuated by the figure of Cautopates like in the relief of the Circus Maximus (*CIMRM* I, no 435 and fig. 122) and it would have been better to have written "who *here* duly stand under Sol and Luna". See in general my forthcoming articles on Cautes and Cautopates in the *Lexicon iconographicum Mythologiae classicae (LIMC)*, written in 1975-6 and J. R. Hinnells, *The iconography of Cautes and Cautopates* in *JMS* 1, 1976, 36-67.

historical order. Only with the greatest difficulty, since they were strictly bound to the cosmological Mithraic conception of the vault in which Sol and Luna and also the torchbearers played an important role, did the artists succeed, as has recently been shown by H. Lavagne.²⁴ And in Italy they surpassed their artist-brothers in Germany by their ability to reproduce a coherent story of the various deeds of Mithras in side panels only, without using, as on the triumphal arches, a large continuous frieze on its upper border (*abacus*). The development of their artistic struggle is clearly seen in the Capua painting, still without side panels but with an attempted lower border as in the Danubian reliefs; in the Marino painting and the Nersae relief with side panels both of which have to be read from top to bottom in historical sequence of Mithras' deeds. One sees the final result in the Barberini fresco at Rome itself, where the sacred story in the side panels has to be read from the top left counter-clockwise towards the top right, where the scenes end with the sacred meal. It is to be stated immediately that the group of "composite" representations had some forerunners;²⁵ but in Italy itself, and especially in Rome, it never became popular, though some painting of this type may have been lost. The group, however, became very popular in Germany and Raetia,²⁶ so that after Fr. Saxl, the French scholar E. Will was able to discern a special Rhine-group, where the sequence of the Mithraic story, has to be read from the bottom of the left side panels clockwise to the bottom of the right column, and the Raetian-group, which is to be read counter-clockwise, as in the Barberini painting. The whole system of division and subdivisions of Mithraic reliefs and paintings into various classes has been subsequently worked out by LeRoy A. Campbell²⁷ and some argue for strong influences on the Roman and Italian artists from the oriental, i.e. the Danubian and Rhine/Raetian, provinces. When the two volumes of *CIMRM* were

²⁴ H. Lavagne, *Les reliefs mithriaques à scènes multiples en Italie* in *Mélanges P. Boyancé* 1974, 481-504.

²⁵ *CIMRM* I, no 321; no 350; cf. Lavagne in *Mél. Boyancé*, 489 with fig. 5 (Mithraeum of the Esquilina).

²⁶ Fr. Saxl, *Mithras, typengeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1931, 28-38; E. Will, *Le relief culturel gréco-romain*, Paris 1955, 356-455.

²⁷ LeRoy A. Campbell, *Typology of Mithraic Tauroctones* in *Berytus* 2, 1954, 1-60; idem, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology* (EPRO 11), Leiden 1968. Cf. the review of this book by J. R. Hinnells in *Journal of Religion and Religions* 1, 1971, 66-71.

made soon after World-War II, the materials for dating the finds, if not indicated by the discovery of dated inscriptions or other materials, were not easily at hand, and even now, thirty years afterwards, much supplementary material from the sanctuaries, as for example the terra sigillata and minor finds, have to be studied or re-discovered in "excavating" the Museum-magazines. A second difficulty is that the regional schools of art, and their influence on Rome are still not fully studied. J. J. Hatt²⁸ gave a beautiful example in his thorough study of the school of sculptors who worked on the reliefs in the Mithraea of Königshoffen and Mackwiller. In the state of affairs the answer to the question whether the "composite" group (Marino-Nesce-Rome) in the neighbourhood of the Capital is an original Roman creation or is due only to external, and especially to German, influences still remains hypothetical for the greater part. Yet, there is one important and indirect, though not decisive, argument in favour of a Roman origin for the composite type: the analogous development of Christian art. Though Mithraism seems to have been already known in Italy in the first century B.C.,²⁹ it arrived definitely in Rome during the reign of

²⁸ J. J. Hatt, *Strasbourg Musée archéologique. Sculptures antiques régionales*, Paris 1964; these sanctuaries will be published again in EPRO by J. J. Hatt and R. Turcan. The latter dates the large relief from Mauls at Sterzing-Vipiteno only in the second half of the third century (R. Turcan, *The date of the Mauls relief* in *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 1, 1976, 68-74). Important is his conclusion: "the notion of a sharp cleavage between a Raetian and a Rhine order cannot be demonstrated when we look at the facts. From the original common scheme imported from Rome are descended several partially aberrant variants which cannot be fitted into one of the two supposed groups without arbitrary oversimplification" (p. 74). At the same time the author states "that the dating of all the Mithraic monuments presently known is one of the major tasks of research in this field". For the discovery of the new Mithraeum at Biesheim in the Alsace, see Fr. Petry-E. Kern in *Cahiers Alsaciens d'archéologie, d'art et d'histoire* 21, 1978, 1-32 with previous bibliography and with an especial note (pp. 21-22) about the Mithraeum at Königshoffen. For a lost head with phrygian cap from St Wendel (*CIMRM* 1, no 999) see now W. Binsfeld in *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 3, 1975, 219-220.

²⁹ About the famous text of Plut., *Pomp.*, XXIV, 7 (cf. R. Turcan, *Mithras Platonius* (EPRO 47), Leiden 1975, 1 n. 2 with bibliography), there actually is much discussion, see E. D. Francis in *Mithraic Studies* I, Manchester 1975, 207-210; C. M. Daniels in *Mithraic Studies* II, 250 and recently E. M. Yamauchi, *Mithraism and pre-Christian Gnosticism* in J. Duchesne-Guillemin (ed.), *Etudes mithriaques* (Acta Iranica, N.S. IV), Leiden-Teheran 1978, especially 553-555. However, one must not forget some indirect testimonies; cf. Cumont in *CRAI* 1945, 418; Vermaseren, *Mithrasdienst in Rome*, 21; Turcan, *Mithras*, 5ff; W. Blawatsky-G. Kochelenko, *Le culte de Mithra sur la côte septentrionale de la Mer Noire* (EPRO 8), Leiden 1966, 14-22.

Nero with some of his cult ceremonies;³⁰ and the first representation of the tauroctony was known to the poet Statius about 80 A.D.³¹ The development of Mithraism, and therefore also of Mithraic art, took place in the Eternal City during the second century, parallel with Christianity, which however saw really great expansion only in the next century. Both religions, originating in the eastern provinces, had to find in the West the means to express their beliefs and sacred tales in a narrative art. And when the artists in Rome set themselves to this task, they found the motifs in the art traditions of the Capital itself. The paintings in the Catacombs, the Christian sarcophagi with the multiple scenes of the Old and New Testament, originated in the non-Christian "Umwelt" of Rome.³² Once created here and transformed, the various scenes soon became traditional and went to the Western provinces, where they often received new impulses from the local art traditions and were taken over by local art-schools. One might suppose that Mithraic art developed in Rome in the same way. The study of Fr. Saxl already showed that the Mithraic art traditions did not arrive in Rome ready for use together with the oral and written doctrine. Possibly even the doctrine itself had to develop in Rome together with the creation of its own original Mithraic art. It is not pure coincidence that the philosophical interpretation of Mithraism is best known from the Roman Stoa and Neo-Platonism. Accepting this interpretation, one no longer wonders why the composite reliefs and paintings only start to appear in the second half of the second century A.D. At first the famous triumphal arches and the narrative columns had to be created and imitated. From the

³⁰ Pliny, *NH*, XXX, 6, 17; Dio Cassius, LXIII, 5, 1-7; cf. Suet., *Nero*, 13; Fr. Cumont, *l'iniziazione di Nerone da parte di Tiridate* in *Riv. Fil.*, LXI, 1933, 154; Yamauchi, 555.

³¹ Statius, *Thebaid*, I, 719-720 (p. 37 ed. A. Klotz-Th. C. Klinnert). Against R. L. Gordon in *Mithraic Studies* I, 245 n. 119 I believe that a representation of Mithras tauroctone in Rome is intrinsically connected with the existence of both a Mithraeum and mysteries. I therefore agree with LeRoy A. Campbell, *Iconography*, 26 that "our best guess is that the earliest Mithraic chapels were established in Rome and the coastal towns during the last two decades of the first century"; cf. also Yamauchi, 555; R. L. Gordon in *JMS* 2, 1978, 148-174 who except for Statius follows the same opinion.

³² A. Grabar, *The Beginnings of Christian Art*, London 1967; P. Testini, *Le Catacombe e gli antichi cimiteri Cristiani in Roma* (Roma Cristiana, II), Bologna 1966; P. du Bourguet, *Art paléochrétien*, Lausanne 1971. See also K. Weitzmann, *Narration in Early Christendom* in *AJA* 61, 1957, 83-91.

same period one also knows the relief of Herakles and Omphale³³ with two side-panels each with three scenes and a frieze above representing the twelve deeds of the invincible Greek hero and saviour, who shared many common traits with Mithras³⁴ and had such a great influence on Commodus,³⁵ that the emperor identified himself with his vigorous example.

The composite reliefs originated in Rome and its surroundings, as H. Lavagne³⁶ recently observed: in each case one is able to follow only here the preliminary stages and the various attempts of the artists to combine some scenes of less importance with the tauroctony. But here again its exact evolution is not clear for lack of dated monuments. The composite type never became popular in Italy, whereas it is highly developed in Germany. The Rhine province adopted this type, and transformed it; finally new additions were made according to local tastes and needs. This evolution becomes evident in stating that some special traits of Mithraic art do not occur at all in Rome and Italy. Germany has some characteristic traits which clearly show a certain independence and originality. Whereas Rome only has one relief of large size from the Mithraeum on the Capitoline, Germany possesses several of these reliefs (Osterburken, Dieburg, Heddernheim, Rückingen, Strassbourg, Metz). Some of them were carved on both sides and could be revolved on a pivot, a peculiarity restricted to Germany alone. Other reliefs (Heddernheim, Rückingen, Neuenheim, a scene on the Osterburken monument) show Mithras as a hunter, a scene which outside Germany occurs only on two paintings in the Dura-Mithraeum. More than anywhere else local and other deities were admitted to the Mithraic sanc-

³³ Will, *Relief culturel*, 435f and fig. 78 (Naples, National Museum, Inv. no S 122); A. J. Festugière in *Histoire générale des religions*, II, Grèce-Rome, Paris 1948, 240.

³⁴ M. Simon, *Hercule et le Christianisme*, Paris 1955.

³⁵ Palazzo dei Conservatori, Inv. no 1120 (bust of Commodus as Hercules): W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, II, Tübingen 1966⁴, 306-7, no 1486; R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome, the Centre of Power, Roman Art to A.D. 200*, London 1970, 295 fig. 331; W. H. Gross, *Herakliskos Commodus* in *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse* 1973, no 4; J. Inan, *Commodus oder Herakles* in *Festschrift für F. Brommer*, Mainz 1977, 187-189; C. C. Vermeule, *Commodus, Caracalla and the Tetrarchs. Roman Emperors as Hercules* in *Festschrift Brommer*, 289-294.

³⁶ H. Lavagne in *Mél. Boyancé*, 481-504.

tuary; more than anywhere else there are examples of the composite reliefs some with very exceptional and unique scenes. One might conclude, that especially in Germany Mithraism, probably already known there at the end of the first century A.D., became a very important cult which among the civil and military population tried to obtain complete supremacy. The triumphal arch was a good example!³⁷ In order to demonstrate the originality of the German sculptors one must consider the Dieburg relief³⁸ dedicated by Silvestrius Silvin(i)us *artis quadratariae*, by his brother Silvestrius Perpetus, *artis sutor* and by the grandson Aurelius Silvinius. The relief became famous because it was sculpted on two sides, without any doubt by Silvestrius Silvinius. This Silvestrius, was a man of native origin who came to Dieburg,³⁹ where he founded a work-shop of sculptors (see Pl. XXIII). He decorated one side with the myth of Phaeton, who asked his Father, the Sun, the favour of guiding for one day the fierce *quadriga*. Franz Cumont⁴⁰ proved that the myth was already known in Asia Minor by the Stoa and that this philosophical school adapted it in the theories about the conflagration. From a line of verse in the Sa Prisca-Mithraeum, we know that the Mithraists borrowed these ideas and gave them a place in their

³⁷ F. Noack, *Triumph und Triumphbogen* (Vorträge Bibl. Warburg V), Hamburg 1925-1926; for Beneventum, see H. Kähler, *Rom und seine Welt*, München 1960, 259ff; F. J. Hassel, *Der Trajansbogen von Benevent*, Mainz 1966; M. Rotili, *L'arco di Traiano a Benevento*, Roma 1972; Th. Lorenz, *Leben und Regierung Trajans auf dem Bogen von Benevent*, Amsterdam 1973; for Germany, see H. von Gall, *Bemerkungen zum Bogen des Dativius Victor in Mainz* in *Jahrbuch Zentralmuseums Mainz* 15, 1968, 98-119. In general: H. Kähler in *PWRE VIIA*, 1948 s.v. Triumphbogen cols 373-493.

³⁸ Fr. Behn, *Das Mithrasheiligtum zu Dieburg* (Römisch-Germanische Forschungen 1), Berlin-Leipzig 1928; *CIMRM* II, no 1247; G. Ristow in *Römer am Rhein*, Köln 1967, 169f no A 123 with Taf. 44-45; E. Schwertheim, *Die Denkmäler orientalischer Gottheiten im römischen Deutschland* (EPRO 40), Leiden 1974, 159-162 no 123; M. J. Vermaseren, *Der Kult des Mithras in Germanien*, Stuttgart 1974, 63 with figs 15-16; idem, *Il culto di Mithra in Germania in Renania Romana* (Atti dei Convegni Lincei 23), Roma 1976, 135-144. For the relation Mithras-Wodan, see again Fr. Behn, *Der reitende Mithras* in *Festschrift Walter Baetke*, Weimar 1966, 46-49 and H. R. Ellis Davidson, *Mithras and Wodan*, in J. Duchesne-Guillemin (éd.), *Etudes Mithriaques*, Leiden 1978, 99-110.

³⁹ The inscription tells that he belongs to the tribe of the Bituriges (Behn, *o.c.*, 43f). If he has not been in Italy himself, he at least must have worked after Roman models.

⁴⁰ Fr. Cumont, *La fin du monde selon les Mages occidentaux* in *RHR* 104, 1931, 29-96; J. Bidez-Fr. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* I-II, Paris 1938, cf. I, 91-97; II, 142 no O 8 and especially 147 n. 4. See now also J. Diggle, *Euripides Phaeton* (Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 12), Cambridge 1970 especially pp. 205-220.

religious system.⁴¹ But as to the artistic conception, Silvestrius seems to have been inspired either by a painting in the Domus Aurea or—which is much more probable—by one of the Roman sarcophagi with the Phaeton myth. The other side of the relief shows in the centre Mithras as a hunter surrounded by various panels several of which are most original. On the other hand these scenes like the representation of Mithras as a hunter show a clear predilection for the indigenous German taste. In Rome the extensive story of the bull-fighting was not popular. In this way Silvinus is a real northern artist who however was well acquainted with Italian models as the Phaeton-scene clearly proves.

What is the date of this master-piece? Fr. Behn,⁴² followed by Fr. Cumont,⁴³ supposed that the destruction of the Mithraeum at Dieburg was caused by the fall of the Limes about A.D. 260,⁴⁴ and he finally proposes⁴⁵ as a possible date *ante quem* the last third of the second century i.e. a date which coincides with the dates of both the Nersae relief and the composite paintings of Marino and Barberini, though Barberini might be of somewhat later date (late Severan period). In the inscription Silvinus' art is indicated with the terminology *ars quadrataria*. This combination seems only to occur in late sources, the current expressions being *ars sculpturae* and *ars statuaria*.⁴⁶ Interesting in connexion with the Dieburg-relief is the story in the *Passio IV coronatorum*, Cap. 1 which took place during the reign of Diocletian:⁴⁷ *Tempore quo Dioclitianus perrexit Pannoniis ad metalla diversa sua praesentia de montibus abscidenda, factum est dum omnes artifices metalli congregaret, invenit inter eos magna peritiae artis inbutos homines nomine Claudium,*

⁴¹ M. J. Vermaseren - C. C. van Essen, *Exc. Sa Prisca*, 224: *per quos consumimur ipsi*; M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithras, Geschichte eines Kultes*, Stuttgart 1965, 144f; 138ff.

⁴² Behn, *o.c.*, 44.

⁴³ Fr. Cumont, *Découvertes archéologiques en Germanie et en Cyrénaïque I, Le nouveau basrelief mithriaque de Dieburg* in *Journal des Savants* 1927, 122-126.

⁴⁴ J. E. Bogaers - C. B. Rüger (ed.), *Der Niedergermanische Limes* (Kunst und Altertum am Rhein 50), Köln 1974, 17f; D. Baatz, *Der römische Limes*, Berlin 1974, 58-64; E. Demougeot, *La formation de l'Europe et les invasions barbares*, I. *Des origines germaniques à l'avènement de Dioclétien*, Paris 1969, 514f; A. Alföldi, *Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrise des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus*, Darmstadt 1967, 342ff.

⁴⁵ Behn, 45.

⁴⁶ Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXIV, 33 (= p. 119 ed. H. Le Bonniec): *fuisse autem statuariam artem familiarem Italiae*; cf. Forcellini s.v. *statuarius*; Thesaurus L.L. s.v. *ars*.

⁴⁷ I quote the edition of Wattenbach in *Sb. Berl. Ak.* 1896, 1292f.

Castrorium, Sympronianum et Nicostratum, mirificos in arte quadrataria. Hii oculte christiani erant, custodientes mandata dei, et quidquid artis operabantur in sculptura, in nomine domini Jesu Christi sculpebant. Ventum est quodam die inperante Dioclitiano, ut simulacrum Solis cum quadriga ex lapide Taso artifices cum omni argumento, currum, equos vel omnia, ex uno lapide sculpirent. Eodem tempore omnes artifices cum phylosophis cogitare coeperunt artis huius delimare sermonem. Et cum incidissent lapidem magnum ex metallo Taso, non conveniebat ars sculpturae secundum praeceptum augusti Dioclitiani, et multis diebus erat contentio inter artifices et phylosophos.

This text and that of Sidonius Apollinaris⁴⁸ from A.D. 469 therefore would seem to have contradicted the accepted date of Silvinus and his famous relief, but some epigraphical finds complete the literary sources. My colleague and friend Gabriel Sanders of Gand University calls my attention to CIL VI 30.865 from Rome and dated in A.D. 175 in which a *librarius quadratarius* is mentioned. The word is here a specification of the *librarius* and though De Ruggiero⁴⁹ gives no further explanation the person could well have been a copyist and/or seller of books with designs for sculptors. Another undated building inscription from Tapacae⁵⁰ makes mention of a certain *Senecio quadratarius* who possibly was a sculptor like Silvinus.

Of great interest as to the local ateliers and sculptors in the northern provinces are the Mithraea at Koenigshoffen and Mackwiller, both attributed by J. J. Hatt⁵¹ to a workshop from about A.D. 150, and two inscriptions respectively found at Mainz and Cologne. These two inscriptions indicate in a certain way the evolution in local sculptural workshops in Germany which developed in the *canabae* near the Castra

⁴⁸ Sidonius Apoll., III, 12, 5 (= p. 65 ed. Mohr): *sed vide ut vitium non faciat in marmore lapicida, quod factum sive ab industria seu per incuriam magis quam quadratario lividus lector adscribet.*

⁴⁹ Diz. ep. s.v. librarius.

⁵⁰ CIL VIII, 22.774. Uncertain is CIL VIII, 16.170 (Sicca) with two funeral inscriptions, one to Martialis Quadratorius (according to the indices of CIL to be read as *quadrata <to> rius*) and the other to his son Quadratus.

⁵¹ J. J. Hatt, *Inventaire des collections publiques françaises. Strasbourg, Sculptures antiques régionales*, Paris 1964, no 24. A new publication of these Mithraea in EPRO is in preparation by J. J. Hatt and R. Turcan.

of the Limes.⁵² A large column decorated on the top with a statue of Jupiter and on the sides of the base with the representations of various official Roman divinities was found in 1904 in Mogontiacum. According to the inscription⁵³ the monument was signed: *[Beli?]samus et Severus Venicarii f(iilii) sculpserunt*; it was dedicated to *Jupiter optimus maximus pro salute* of Nero whose name is erased.⁵⁴ The name of Sulpicius Scribonius Proculus is also mentioned; for many years he governed Germania Inferior and in A.D. 67 together with his brother Rufus, governor of Germania Superior, was compelled to bring himself to death (Cassius Dio 63, 17). The other monument from Colonia Agrippinensium⁵⁵ is a funeral inscription dated to the third century which mentions a certain Desideratus, slave of Curmillus, as a *neg(otiator) artis lapidariae*. In this way one is able to observe the same development of local workshops in Germany as Hatt has already noted for the Gallo-Roman workshop at Argentorate.⁵⁶ From the very beginning of the first century A.D. one might distinguish ten successive periods till the end of the fourth century. The composite Mithraic reliefs of both Koenigshoffen and Mackwiller are to be attributed to a highly original workshop which flourished between A.D. 150 and 192. The origin of the master of these reliefs is, according to Hatt, possibly either oriental or balcanian. "Le nouveau style introduit alors dans la sculpture procède d'une technique contrastant fortement avec celle des époques précédentes. Elle fait saillir vigoureusement les traits, accentue les creux, creuse les mèches des cheveux en replis tortueux, fouille les draperies et y ménage des sortes de cavernes sombres. L'influence des procédés du marbrier est visible. Mais il y a une volonté pathétique, un

⁵² P. Romanelli, *La Renania dalla conquista e dalla organizzazione militare allo sviluppo civile in Renania Romana* (Atti dei Convegni Lincei 23), Roma 1976, 31-61; especially 41.

⁵³ CIL XIII, 11.806 with bibliography; L. J. Weber, *Inschriftliche Götterweihungen aus dem Bereich des römischen Mainz* (Diss. Mainz), 1966, 129f no 11806. For Mainz in general, see K. Weidemann, *Die Topographie von Mainz in der Römerzeit und dem frühen Mittelalter* in *Jb. Roem.-Germ. Zentralmuseums Mainz* 15, 1968 [1970], 146-199; K. Esser, *Mogontiacum* in *BJ* 172, 1972, 212-227.

⁵⁴ *PIR* III, 186 no 217.

⁵⁵ CIL XIII, 8352; Brigitte and H. Galsterer, *Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln*, Köln 1975, no 325 and Taf. 71.

⁵⁶ Hatt, introduction without indication of the page number.

parti pris romantique dans l'utilisation des ombres et des lumières, qui manifeste le génie d'un artiste très personnel, dont la formation s'est accomplie dans le cadre des mystères orientaux". One observes that J. J. Hatt argues for oriental or balcan influence on the Master, but it seems to me that as to the composition of the large composite reliefs the artist might rather have undergone direct influences from Rome as Turcan⁵⁷ already suggested. The sculptors of the Sarrebourg relief⁵⁸ might have worked in this same tradition and also the artist of the Osterburken relief⁵⁹ which is dated to the Severan period. It is likely but not certain, as Turcan proposed,⁶⁰ that the Mauls-relief according to the hairstyles is to be dated "rather to the period of Gallienus-Claudius II, or even Aurelian or Probus", though always following the original examples which originated in Rome. The very large reliefs however (Osterburken, Heddernheim)⁶¹ belong to a local northern development of style like the specifical Danubian narrative reliefs have their own characteristics.

There is however in Germany one relief which as to its form is most like the Marino and Barberini paintings except that its upper border is decorated with reliefs as well. This is the Neuenheim⁶² relief (Pl. XXI). It belongs to a Mithraeum which was found in the beginning of the nineteenth century and which afterwards was badly published by Creuzer. Two coins of Marcus Aurelius and of the younger Faustina are the only doubtful data for the sanctuary and its main relief, which in this way might have been erected about A.D. 150 or somewhat later. The relief has many common traits with the more elaborate one from Heddernheim which therefore might have been of somewhat later date and which though not made by the same sculptor certainly seems to be influenced by the example of Neuenheim. The left side of this latter

⁵⁷ R. Turcan, *The Date of the Mauls Relief* in *JMS* 1, 1976, 68-76.

⁵⁸ *CIMRM* I, no 966.

⁵⁹ *CIMRM* II, no 1292; E. Schwertheim, *Denkmäler*, 192ff no 148a and Pl. 44; M. J. Vermaseren, *Der Kult des Mithras im römischen Germanien*, Stuttgart 1974, 60 and Pls 4, 9, 10.

⁶⁰ Turcan in *JMS* 1, 1976, 72f.

⁶¹ *CIMRM* II, no 1083; E. Schwertheim, *Denkmäler*, 67ff no 59a and Pls 11, 12; M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithras in Germanien*, 59 and Pls 24, 25.

⁶² *CIMRM* II, no 1283; Schwertheim, 184f no 141a and Pl. 40; Vermaseren, 62 and Pl. 14.

monument is dedicated to greco-roman mythological scenes and to Mithras' rockbirth, the right side to Mithras' struggle with the bull. One gets the impression that the story starts in the upper scene of the left corner, but in this case the sequence on many other monuments might be badly conceived. After Mithras' rockbirth follows Jupiter's treaty with Saturnus, example for the treaty between Mithras and Sol, which in his turn is the example for the *unctio dextrarum* of the initiated. Then follows the figure of the reclining sleeping Saturn who is dreaming of the creation,⁶³ but in the next scene Mithras-Atlas is carrying the globe, a scene which in Mithraic iconography is very rare. In Germany it occurs in only one instance, in the later relief of Osterburken; two other examples give the Mauls relief and the Barberini painting (Pl. XI). In the monument of Osterburken the Atlas-scene follows that of Chaos which is symbolized by a bearded head in a flower. Here the sequence of the panels is thus starting in the lower left corner, but in this case it remains equally strange that the reclining Saturnus has been put in the upper left corner. If we read the Neuenheim relief also starting in the lower left corner, Mithras' rockbirth follows after the treaty of Saturnus with Jupiter, whereas Osterburken and Heddernheim give the impression that the birth happens after the scene of Saturnus' dream. In any case already from these three important narrative reliefs from Germany one is able to conclude that here the sequence of the scenes is not to be seen as of a certain (theo)logical order (see also Ch. III). In the second place it becomes clear that the panel-reliefs in Italy and Germany were a nearly simultaneous creation of the second half of the second century. They have been derived from the triumphal-arch and especially from that of Trajan at Beneventum⁶⁴ (figs 3-4). According to the dates actually at our disposal it is not clear whether the Italian artists borrowed this concept from their northern brothers or not; if Hatt is right with his dating, the Koenigshoffen relief is the earliest datable example from about A.D. 150. Yet, one can follow the attempts to arrive at such a composition in other reliefs at Rome as Lavagne⁶⁵ rightly suggested, and in general a direct influence of the centre of the Imperium on his provinces seems

⁶³ See below p.

⁶⁴ See n. 37; the figures 3-4 after Hassel, 48f.

⁶⁵ H. Lavagne in *Mél. Boyancé*, 481-504.

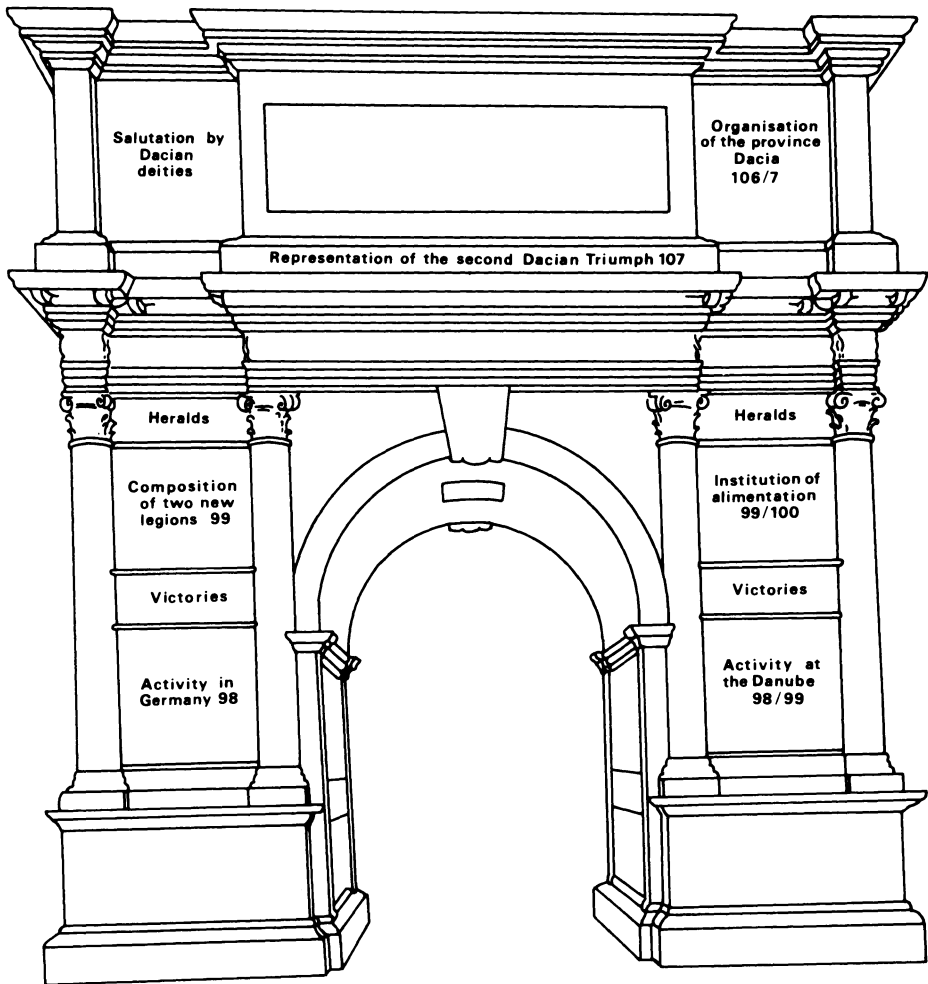


Fig. 3. Triumphal arch of Trajan at Benevent. Design after Hassel, *Trajansbogen*, Beilage 1.

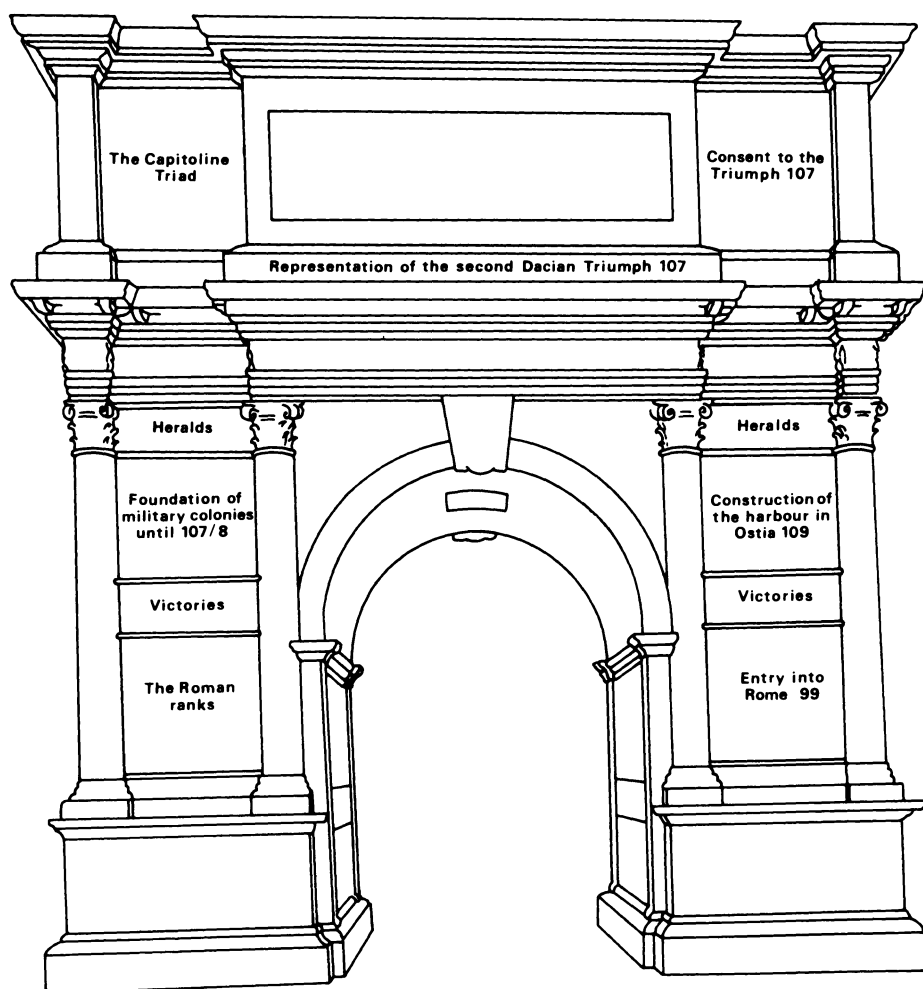


Fig. 4. Arch of Trajan at Benevent. Design after Hassel, *Trajansbogen*, Beilage 2.

more likely, but on the other hand, as recent studies begin to prove, one must not underestimate the developed artistic workshops in the east and west which in their turn influenced Rome. It is certain however that the German artists developed these Mithraic panel-reliefs more than did their colleagues in any other part of the Roman Empire.

EXCURSION ABOUT THE DATING OF THE PAINTINGS

In the two Mithraea which are discussed in this book there is a painted representation of Mithras as bullslayer on the backwall. The only other extant example of a painted tauroctony in Italy is that in the Mithraeum at S. Maria Capua Vetere.¹ A few other similar painted representations existed but these are either badly damaged or not enough is known about them to give sufficient information.²

These three painted tauroctonies seem to belong roughly to the same period, viz. the second half of the second century A.D., but a more precise date is difficult to establish. The painted tauroctony that was discovered first, viz. that at S. Maria Capua Vetere, was dated by its excavator, Minto, in the beginning of the second century A.D.; by Rumpf, Vermaseren and Andreae in the Antonine period, viz. about 170; by Dorigo towards the end of the second century; and by Borda in the Severan period, circa A.D. 200.³ The painting in the Barberini Mithraeum was dated by the excavators in the second half of the second century, Rumpf suggested the Antonine period, Borda the Severan period, while Grabar and Coarelli considered it to have been painted in the third century.⁴ When the Marino Mithraeum was found a date

¹ *CIMRM* I, no 181; M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* I, Pls III-X; B. Andreae, *Römische Kunst* (1973), fig. 106.

² a) A painting which was copied in Rome around 1700: *CIMRM* I, no 337 and fig. 94.—b) A painting in the House of the Nummii in Rome: *CIMRM* I, no 386.—c) A painting in the Mithraeum below the Ospedale di San Giovanni in Rome and dated in the second half of the third century: Valnea Santa Maria Scrinari in U. Bianchi (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae*, 219ff; especially 223 fig. 6.—d) A painting in the Mithraeum below S. Stefano Rotondo dated about A.D. 180: Elisa Lissi Caronna in *Mysteria Mithrae*, 206 and fig. 1. This sanctuary will be published in *EPRO*.—e) A painting in the Mithraeum of the Pareti dipinte at Ostia: *CIMRM* I, no 268 with previous bibliography.

³ A. Minto in *NSc* 31, 1924, 375; A. Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung* (1953), 187; Andreae, fig. 106; W. Dorigo, *Pittura tardoromana* (1966), 88 n. 10; M. Borda, *La pittura romana* (1958), 300.

⁴ G. Annibaldi-G. Gatti in *BCR* 1943-1945 [1947], 97ff; 102, 108 (see in this book Pls XVIII-XIX), because the brickwork of the pillars which were added later and one of which overlaps the painting, should belong to the beginning of the third century. Miss Th.

somewhere in the Severan period was suggested, but Bianchi Bandinelli dated the painting ca. 160-170, Dorigo and Andreae dated it towards the end of the second century, while Lavagne kept open both the possibilities of an Antonine and a Severan date.⁵

The suggested dates of these Mithraic paintings vary in general from the Antonine to the Severan period. The problem is that each painting has been attributed to both these periods, despite the fact that it is generally accepted that a fundamental artistic change took place between the Antonine and Severan period.⁶ It is apparently difficult to give these Mithraic paintings their proper place in these periods, and so it may be useful to reconsider here the dates of these rare and important Mithraic paintings.

It is usually difficult to date wall paintings because the walls on which the paintings were executed only give a date *post quem*. Therefore, one has to base one's opinion mainly on the style of painting in the case of figurative paintings and, in the case of ornamental wallpaintings, on the character of the decoration. The rich materials which have been preserved in Pompeii and Herculaneum make it possible to recognize a fairly consistent development in wall painting before the eruption of the Vesuve in A.D. 79.⁷ After that date the situation becomes more difficult since the material that can be dated with any certainty is as yet too limited in number to enable us to observe a clear line of development.⁸

L. Heres, who is preparing a study on Roman brickwork, kindly informed me that in her opinion the coarse brickwork of the pillars must belong to a considerably later period; Rumpf, 187; Borda, 300; A. Grabar, *Le premier art chrétien* (1966), fig. 73; F. Coarelli, *Guida archeologica di Roma* (1974), 222.

⁵ See above Chapter I, n. 14; Dorigo, 88, n. 10; Andreae, fig. 105.

⁶ Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome. Le centre du pouvoir*, Ch. II; Rumpf, 189ff.

⁷ See in general H. G. Beyen, *Pompeiani Stili* in *EAA* VI, 356ff.

⁸ Cf. F. Wirth, *Römische Wandmalerei vom Untergang Pompejis bis ans Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts* (1934); J. de Wit, *Spätrömische Bildnismalerei* (1938); Rumpf, 189ff; C. C. van Essen, *Verslag van wetenschappelijke onderzoekingen in 1949 verricht in Meded Rome* (Derde reeks) VIII, 1953, 33ff, published in Italian: *Studio cronologico nelle pitture parietali di Ostia* in *BCR* 76, 1956-58, 155ff; Borda, 91ff; B. M. Felletti Maj, *Le pitture delle case delle volte dipinte e delle pareti gialle* in *MPA*, Ser. III, Ostia fasc. I-II (1961); C. C. van Essen, *The dating of the paintings* in M. J. Vermaseren-C. C. van Essen, *The excavations in the Mithraeum of the church of Santa Prisca in Rome* (1965), 173ff; B. M. Felletti Maj-P. Moreno, *Le pitture della Casa delle Muse* in *MPA*, Ser. III, Ostia fasc. III (s.d. ± 1968); Bianchi Bandinelli, *Le centre du pouvoir*, 328ff; G. Gasparro, *Le pitture della caupona del Pavone* in *MPA*, Ser. III, Ostia fasc. IV (s.d. ± 1971).

The changes we can see, however, show a gradual replacement of the architectural character of the Pompeian Fourth Style by a flat panelled appearance of the walls. There is also a change from the naturalistic, plastic and polychrome style of painting to a more sketchy impressionistic style, in which fewer colours are used. These tendencies become clearer towards the end of the second century.

The Capua painting

If we look at the Capua painting⁹ more closely we note that the central group is modelled in a plastic way. The white bull is a fine example of its kind. Mithras who kneels on its back really seems to push himself off while inflicting the dagger-stab. Also the foldings and shadows in Mithras' clothes are plastically and realistically rendered. The colours of both Mithras' clothes and the torchbearers' clothes are brilliant. Mithras is dressed mainly in red, the inside of his cloak is bright blue, with seven stars representing the planets painted in it, thus suggesting the celestial sky. Cautes wears a yellow tunic and a red mantle and cap, Cautopates is dressed in white.¹⁰ All outfits have green borders and have been finely embroidered in yellow. The foreground is greenish-brown on the right-hand side, near Tellus, and light blue on the left, near Oceanus. The rocks of the cave are greenish-brown and brown. The interior of the cave is dark blue. The cave is surrounded by a white edge representing the air. The heads of Sol and Luna appear from behind the rocky vault and look with amazement at the slaying of the bull.

The Capua painting as a whole has a realistic quality because of the naturalness and plasticity of the figures and the rich and varying but naturalistic colours.

The Marino painting

The style of the Marino painting (Pls III-VIII) is very different from that of the Capua painting. In general there is no sense of plasticity. The

⁹ See Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* I, Pls III-X.

¹⁰ It seems possible that the colours yellow, red and white for the tunics of Cautes, Mithras and Cautopates were chosen to indicate the power of the sun in spring, summer and winter. Cf. for colour symbolism Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* I, 9; L. A. Campbell, *Mithraic iconography and ideology*, 39.

bull is much less realistic, and because of its lack of depth it rather resembles a stageprope. Mithras seems to have assumed a pose and does not look as though he is actually going to kill the bull. His body seems less alive, as may be seen by his rigid right arm. His tunic, with its stiff foldings, doesn't look as though it has been gathered by a belt, as in the Capua painting, but looks like two separate pieces. The faces of the figures are somewhat linear since the features—the eyes, nose, mouth—are represented by thin lines. Only occasionally a spot of light may be seen (Pl. VI). The white vault above the dark cave looks more like a rolled up sail than like real rocks.

As far as the colours are concerned we see once again that in contrast to the Capua painting only a few colours have been used. Mithras' suit is a purplish-pink colour and the lining of his cloak is light blue. His tunic and cloak are studded with stars. Cautes is also dressed in pink, but Cautopates wears a light blue tunic. The figures of Cautes and Cautopates beside the entrance (Pls IX-X) are similarly dressed. The figures of Mithras on the panels on either side of the bull-slaying scene are always in pink.¹¹ The white, blue and pink figures contrast strikingly with the dark blue cave surrounded by the white cave vault. Only the ochre foreground is in any way realistic. The space above and beside the cave vault is light blue and in the upper left and right hand corner the busts of Sol and Luna appear again. Sol¹² has shining yellowish-brown hair and brilliant eyes, while Luna's face is overshadowed by mist clouds. Whereas in the Capua painting the heads of Sol and Luna seem like real human faces looking on from behind the rocks, in the Marino painting their pale faces rise from pink ragged clouds against the light blue background and are surrounded by a white *nimbus* and greyish ragged clouds, which gives them a supernatural appearance. It is therefore clear that in the Marino painting the figures are much less realistic than in the Capua painting. Moreover, the whole scene seems to be imbued in a blue and pink gloss which is quite different to the naturalism of the scene as it appears in the Capua painting. In the

¹¹ Here too it seems that the distinction between the pink costume of Cautes and Mithras and the blue costume of Cautopates has a symbolic meaning. Cf. n. 14 for the Barberini painting where the costumes are coloured exactly in the opposite way.

¹² See the colourplate with the bust of Sol in *EAA* V, s.v. *nimbo*, opposite p. 492.

Marino painting the scene becomes a supernatural event taking place in the atmosphere.

As far as the composition is concerned we may note that on both sides of the tauroctony there are two rows, each consisting of four panels which are framed by dark blue lines, and which show other Mithraic scenes. These scenes all have the same light blue background and the same dominant colours as the main scene, which are white, pink and occasionally yellow.

The Barberini painting

The Barberini painting is also very different in style to both the other paintings. The scenery has been reduced to almost nothing. The foreground is light blue,¹³ but with a little ochre below the torchbearers. Some brownish smudges round the arch of altars and trees are reminiscent of the caveborder. The figures lack all plasticity. Against the white background the elegant elongated figures are painted in a bold but sketchy fashion. Particularly Mithras' face achieves a highly impressionistic character because the real forms of the face are not painted but are suggested by using shading in the form of light and dark dots and lines. This impressionistic style which also appears strikingly in Mithras' hair and in the flaming altars and trees is very different to the linear style of the Marino painting. Mithras is dressed in celestial blue, his cloak is red and is lined with dark red but nevertheless shows the usual stars. Cautes is dressed in light blue and has a red cloak. Cautopates, on the other hand, is mainly in pink. The side panels have the same white background and the same pastel tones, while Mithras is again dressed in a greyish-blue tunic and a red cloak.¹⁴ These pastel tones, together with the impressionistic style of painting give the elongated figures an airy appearance and make them seem to float above the beholder. The white background which is designated as the heavenly vault by stars and the signs of the zodiac gives strength to this impression. Mithras' and the

¹³ Either to suggest air, or possibly water as may be the case in the Capua painting near the head of Oceanus, see Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* I, Pl. IV.

¹⁴ Here we see the opposite to the Marino painting see n. 11. Could there be some special reason for this such as the orientation of the mithraeum? However, this falls outside the scope of my subject.

torchbearers' clothes are also painted in a sketchy way, which contrast with the detailed way in which they are represented in the Capua painting and in the Marino painting.

As far as the composition is concerned we find that, while the Marino painting has small panels which have been added in a somewhat unorganic way to the lower left- and right-hand corners of the main scene, in the Barberini painting the whole field has been divided in a well-balanced composition consisting of a central panel flanked by two rows of small panels. All these panels have been divided by red lines.

So we see that in the Barberini painting all naturalism has disappeared. The cavelike background has been replaced by a starry vault of heaven, in which the impressionistic figures seem to float. Furthermore we see that the central scene has been combined with several other scenes into one coherent composition in which the scenes are separated from each other by means of red lines.

We may summarize the stylistic characteristics of the three paintings as follows: in the Capua painting the figures and the setting are realistic and plastic, whereas the colours are naturalistic and polychromous; in the Marino painting a sense of irrealism, or even surrealism prevails in both the figures and the setting, and in the nature and the limited number of the colours; in the Barberini painting all sense of realism has gone and the figures are painted in an impressionistic way against a white background, which suggests the vault of heaven.

Such differences of style cannot only be attributed to the different personalities of the painters but must reflect a general difference in taste. The general development from plasticity to impressionism in Roman art in the later part of the second century which we mentioned above, enables us to arrange the three paintings of Mithras slaying the bull into a pattern of stylistic development, which begins with the Capua painting, leads through the Marino painting, and ends with the Barberini painting. This relationship between the three paintings seems to be confirmed by the introduction of side panels, which are missing in the Capua painting, appear spasmodically in the Marino painting, and are fully represented in the Barberini painting. These differences between the three paintings also imply chronological differences in such a way that we may assume a relative chronology for the three paintings in

the same order as outlined above. However, they do not give much evidence to establish a more absolute chronology.

For this purpose we must consider more thoroughly the way in which these figurative scenes have been incorporated into the wall decoration, i.e. the character of the ornamental wall painting.

In the Capua Mithraeum a dark blue, rather coarsely painted band runs round the backwall, while on the dado there is a greenish marble imitation. The other walls and the vault of the Mithraeum, which all have a white background, are framed by red bands. Moreover, the sidewalls have been divided into large panels by similar vertical red bands.¹⁵ Various figures appear in these panels.¹⁶ The Marino painting is also surrounded by a dark blue band, and so are the panels with Cautes and Cautopates beside the entrance (Pls III, IX, X). The panels which have been added to the lower left- and right-hand side of the bull-slaying scene are also framed by, slightly narrower, blue bands. The Barberini painting is framed by a red band and the panels which flank the central scene are separated from each other and the main scene by narrower red lines. We, therefore, find that the only ornamental feature of the wall decorations is, in all three cases, the division of the wall by means of more or less coarsely painted blue or red bands and lines.¹⁷ Such decorations play an important part in later Roman wall painting, so it may be useful to consider this kind of decoration more deeply.

Originally this simple way of dividing a wall into zones and panels by means of coarsely drawn red bands and lines was mainly used on outer walls because exposure to the weather meant that only easily renewable decorations could be used.¹⁸ Such decorations also found their way into interior decorations but than only in the most inconspicuous and darkest parts of the house such as in the window niches of the *criptoportici* in Nero's Domus Aurea.¹⁹ In these remote parts of Nero's palace a

¹⁵ See Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* I, resp. Pls II-V, XI, XVI, XVII-XIX. Vermaseren, p. 50 has shown that the decorations of the backwall and the side walls are contemporary.

¹⁶ Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* I, Pls XVI-XIX.

¹⁷ An imitation marble dado may be found in wall-decoration throughout the whole Roman period; cf. Rumpf, pl. 57, fig. 10, ca. B.C. 100; Borda, fig. on p. 86, ca. A.D. 65; F. Gerke, *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (1967), fig. on p. 99, fourth century.

¹⁸ Cf. V. Spinazzola, *Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell'Abbondanza* (1953) I, figs. 202, 211, 213, 237, 241-243.

¹⁹ See Bianchi Bandinelli, *Le centre du pouvoir*, fig. 142.

simple form of the so called Fourth Pompeian Style may be found which basically consists of large panels, framed by red tapestry-like borders, alternating with narrow architectural views, all on a white background.²⁰ It is this kind of simple Fourth Style decoration on which later wall decorations were modelled. In the second century the architectural character of Roman wall painting gets vaguer and the architectural views which alternate with panels may be replaced by candelabra, or are left out completely which resulted in a row of connecting panels framed by more or less complicated borders.²¹ Since ca. 170 this decoration of framed panels was done more frequently on a white background. The frames, which were usually red, were enlivened by green lines and accompanied by yellow and red lines.²² After ca. 180 a simple variant of this frame style appears, and the frames consist solely of red bands, sometimes still accompanied by red lines. It is noteworthy that the bands and lines were not even always drawn straight. This simple band style becomes widespread towards the end of the second and in the third century.²³ Towards the end of the second century a new feature in this kind of decoration may be found. Whereas the frame style basically followed the panel scheme of older wall decorations, now subdivisions into smaller panels appeared. This was done by adding red lines which had no origins in older wall decoration. This line style becomes widespread after ca. 220.²⁴ So we may conclude that though examples of the red band or line style may occasionally be found as early as the first century A.D. in inconspicuous positions, this kind of decoration only becomes more usual in interior decoration after ca. 180 and does not come into general use until 200.

We must now ask ourselves whether we can assume that mithraea were considered to be suitable surroundings for a decoration with red bands and lines because they were dark and badly lit. If so these decora-

²⁰ G. Lugli, *Nero's Golden House and the Trajan Baths* (1968), figs 4, 5, 10, 12; Bianchi Bandinelli, *Le centre*, fig. 368.

²¹ See in general: Wirth, 133f, figs 64, 65; Rumpf, 189; van Essen in *BCR* 1956-58, 76, 161f, fig. 3; Borda, 104ff; Felletti Maj-Moreno, 59ff; Bianchi Bandinelli, *Le centre*, 326-328.

²² Wirth, 134f, fig. 66; van Essen in *BCR* 76, 1956-1958, 158ff.

²³ Wirth, 136ff, figs 67, 71.

²⁴ Rumpf, 192; de Wit, 26; Felletti Maj, *Volte dipinte*, 37f; Felletti Maj-Moreno, 63; Bianchi Bandinelli, *Le centre*, 328.

tions may be found there earlier than in other wall decorations. If, on the other hand, the decoration of Mithraea followed the development of interior decoration in general than Mithraic decorations in which the band or line style appear may not be considered older than the period when these kinds of decorations became usual. So, to understand the band and line style in the painted tauroctonies we must first study what kind of painted wall decorations had been preserved in other Mithraea.

The oldest and more surely datable painted wall decoration in a Mithraeum which has been preserved is that in the Mithraeum of Lucrezio Menandro in Ostia.²⁵ It consists of white rectangular panels (each showing a small landscape in the centre) framed by red and brown bands and separated by fragile candelabra. This wall decoration which is thought to belong to the period between 160 and 180 was, however, not created for the Mithraeum but was part of the original house in which the Mithraeum was built later.²⁶ It is important to note, however, that this profane wall decoration was apparently not considered out of place in a Mithraic sanctuary. The wall paintings in the Mithraeum of Sette Porte in Ostia have been attributed to either 170-180 or to 210.²⁷ A rich garden scene with various shrubs and trees decorates the side walls.

The wall beside the entrance has small panels separated by red lines in which small scenes or objects were represented. Therefore in this decoration we find the line style on a small scale. The Mithraeum of the Pareti Dipinte at Ostia, which has been dated both in the last decade of the second century and in the second decade of the third century, probably also showed a painted representation of the tauroctony on the backwall.²⁸ The decoration of the side walls has been better preserved.

²⁵ *CIMRM* I, no 224 with bibliography; Wirth, 134, fig 65 (turned upside down); Borda, fig. on p. 111.

²⁶ Wirth, 134: ca. 170-180; van Essen in *BCR* 76, 1956-58, 161: ca. 170-180; Borda, 112, who dates it in the beginning of the third century apparently assumes that the decoration is contemporary with the Mithraeum.

²⁷ *CIMRM* I, no 287; Becatti, Ostia, *I Mitrei*, 94: ca. 160-170; Borda, 104: ca. 160-170; van Essen in *Meded. Rome* 1953, 44, however, dates it ca. 210, which does not seem improbable considering the appearance of the red line style on the entrance wall, see Becatti, 96.

²⁸ *CIMRM* I, no 268; Becatti, 62ff: ca. 190-200, pl. XII; Borda, 111: ca. 195; van Essen in *BCR* 76, 1956-58, 168-169 however, dates it ca. 215-220, which does not seem improbable considering the appearance of the red line style, see Becatti, pl. XIII, 2.

The plain white walls were divided into panels, partly by engaged plaster columns and red borders, and partly by red bands only. On each panel a Mithraic figure may be found.

These few extant examples show that Mithraea could be decorated in different ways and that each of these have their parallels in profane Roman wall painting.²⁹ Moreover, they do not show the band or line style decorations until the last quarter of the second century. This shows that in these Mithraea the wall decorations follow the general development of Roman wall painting. Therefore, we have no compelling reasons to date Mithraic paintings in which the band or line decorations appear, earlier than the general spread of this kind of decoration in profane wall painting, i.e. before 180 for the band style, and before 200 for the line style.

The three paintings of Mithras' bullslaying are therefore related to each other in both style and character of the ornamental painting: the Capua painting combines plasticity with the band style, the Marino painting combines surrealism with an early phase of the line style, and the Barberini painting adds impressionism to the fully developed line style.

The blue and red bands in the Capua Mithraeum suggest it was painted after ca. 180. In general blue bands appear much less frequently than red bands but they may be combined.³⁰ In the Capua Mithraeum the blue band around the bullslaying may have been meant to make it more striking than the scenes on the side walls. The naturalistic and plastic style of the painting still relates it to the Antonine period. Even more classical in style is the refined painting of Luna and her *biga* who seem to turn away from the beholder in a very convincing fashion.³¹

²⁹ The decoration in the Mithraeum of Lucrezio Menandro is actually that of a house see n. 26. The decoration of the Mithraeum of the Pareti dipinte belongs to the red band style which derives from a kind of wall decoration like that in the house of the Mithraeum of Lucrezio Menandro, cf. n. 20-22. The garden scenery in the Mithraeum of the Sette porte derives from a tradition of garden paintings such as that in Livia's villa at Primaporta, see M. M. Gabriel, *Livia's garden room at Primaporta* (1955); Bianchi Bandinelli, *Le centre*, figs 130, 131, 133. Here it is especially appropriate to represent the flowering cave of Mithras, cf. Becatti, 96.

³⁰ Cf. J. Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* (1903), Pls 6, 15, 25, 60, 109.

³¹ Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* I, Pl. XI.

Therefore these paintings cannot be much later than 180, say between 180 and 190.

The Marino painting shows a wholly new taste which, together with the line style, place it in the Severan period. The bands may have been painted blue because the artist considered this more suitable to the whole colour scheme of the painting. We must note the linear style of the faces and that the eyes are seen face on. This method of painting faces may be compared with the well known *tondo* in Berlin with the portraits of Septimius Severus and his family.³² We can, therefore, date the Marino painting towards or around A.D. 200. This makes it tempting to connect it to the Legio II Partica encamped at Albano since 193.³³

The development of the red line style of the Barberini painting suggests the third century.³⁴ The impressionistic style of painting finds good parallels in the wall paintings of the villa below San Sebastiano, in the so called *Capella Greca* of the *coemeterium* of Priscilla and in the room with the seasons in the *coemeterium* of Pietro and Marcellino.³⁵ The head of Mithras on the Barberini painting can be compared especially with the fine head of the summer in the *coemeterium* of Pietro and Marcellino and some heads in the *Capella Greca* in the *coemeterium* of Priscilla and in the villa below San Sebastiano.³⁶ Here we see, surrounded by baroque waving hair, the same almond shaped faces, placed in 3/4 view, in which the eyes, nose and mouth take comparatively little space. In these faces the features are represented in the same way by means of light and dark patches and lines. Here the figures of Mithras and the torchbearers are elongated in the same way and are situated on a small inconspicuous piece of ground.³⁷ Mithras' head on the Barberini

³² Col. repr. in G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Roman art*, Pl. XLVIII.

³³ But cf. Vermaseren, p. 19.

³⁴ But see above p. 19f.

³⁵ See de Wit, 22-28, 30, Pls 3-6, 8 fig. 1, 11-13 figs 1, 2.

³⁶ See resp. de Wit, 22, Pl. 12; de Wit, 30, Pl. 8; reproduced in colour in Grabar, fig. 79; de Wit, 27, Pls 5-6, reproduced in colour in R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome. La fin de l'art antique* (1970), fig. 78 and also enlarged in *EAA* IV, s.v. *impressionismo*, opposite p. 122.

³⁷ Cf. de Wit, 30, *coemeterium* of Pietro and Marcellino, Pl. 10, fig. 2; reproduced in colour in Grabar, fig. 51; the *Capella Greca* in the *coemeterium* of Priscilla; Grabar, figs 113, 114; also the Mithraeum of the *Pareti dipinte* at Ostia: Becatti, Pl. XII.

painting also looks very much like the head of Sol in marble *intarsio* from Santa Prisca.³⁸ They have identical features outlined by dark shadows, which in the *intarsio* have been lost, and the same curly waving hair. In both cases we see the unusual eyebrow which has an extra upward curve near the nose. This is a Hellenistic baroque feature which indicates considerable mental harassment, which reappeared in the late Severan period.³⁹ As all these parallels may be dated between 220-250,⁴⁰ it seems most plausible to date the Barberini painting in the same period, i.e. the second quarter of the third century A.D.

³⁸ See M. J. Vermaseren-C. C. van Essen, *The excavations*, Cat. 227, p. 442, Pl. XXXVII; colour plate in Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome. La fin de l'art antique*, fig. 83.

³⁹ Cf. a head from the baths of Alexander Severus: Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome. La fin de l'art antique*, fig. 7; the well known portrait of Decius; de Wit, 26; Bianchi Bandinelli, *op. cit.*, fig. 8; and a head from the sarcophagus of his son Hostilianus: Bianchi Bandinelli, *op. cit.*, figs 2, 54.

⁴⁰ For the Sol from Sa Prisca, see above n. 38; cf. M. J. Vermaseren in *Hommages W. Deonna*, Brussels 1957, 514-516: first half of the third century; Capella greca in the *coemeterium* of Priscilla, 220-225: de Wit, 31; Vermaseren-van Essen, *Excavations*, 174; Villa below San Sebastiano ca. 240: de Wit, 28; Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome. La fin de l'art antique*, fig. 78; Room of the seasons in the *coemeterium* of Pietro and Marcellino, 240-250: de Wit, 26. Decius and Hostilianus both died in 251. The sarcophagus of Hostilianus was made before his death because his portrait was added at that occasion.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RELIGIOUS INTERPRETATION OF THE MITHRAEUM AND ITS PAINTINGS

About the construction of the Mithraeum itself (see fig. 5) in which the remarkable painting decorates the back-wall, there is not much to tell. For the sanctuary one used a long narrow corridor with a natural vault as in so many Mithraic temples. But unlike Capua¹ this vault is not decorated with stars in order to underline the symbolic interpretation of the grotto as the kosmos. In this grotto *podia* or better *praesepia*—as an inscription from Ostia calls these benches²—have been constructed; in a later period an anteroom was added which makes this *spelunca* one of the largest known Mithraea. The whole sanctuary is like so many others orientated so that the entrance is at the western side. Traces of a wall with brick-stamps, remnants of the inventory have not been discovered. The fact that the orientation is the same as in the Christian Church is certainly an indication of the relation of the deity with the light-symbolism. Mithras is worshipped as a god of the heavenly sky, as the light- and sun-god. Since one finds this orientation in so many Mithraea, some scholars³ have been induced to believe that each part of a sanctuary, that each representation either in sculpture or in painting has a symbolic meaning in respect of this East-West direction even in Mithraic temples, which do not have this orientation. In Antiquity itself

¹ M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca I. The Mithraeum of S. Maria Capua Vetere* (EPRO 16), Leiden 1971.

² CIL XIV 4314; *CIMRM* I, no 233.

³ Doubts as to the exact position of the zodiac on the Mithraeum at Ponza started the discussion: M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca II. The Mithraeum at Ponza* (EPRO 16), Leiden 1974; R. Beck, *Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac* in *JMS* 1, 1976, 1-19; *JMS* 2, 1978, 87-147; R. Beck, *The seat of Mithras at the equinoxes* in *JMS* 1, 1976, 95-98; H. G. Gundel, *Imagines Zodiaci in Hommages M. J. Vermaseren I* (EPRO 68), Leiden 1978, 438-454; for Poetovio: I. Tóth, *Das lokale System der mithraischen Personifikationen im Gebiet von Poetovio* in *Arheološki Vestnik* 28, 1977, 385-392; for the Mitreo delle Sette Sfere in Ostia in general: R. L. Gordon, *The sacred geography of a Mithraeum: the example of Sette Sfere* in *JMS* 1, 1976, 119-165; R. Beck, *Sette Sfere, Sette Porte and the Spring Equinoxes of A.D. 172 and 173* in U. Bianchi (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae* 515-529.

the Neoplatonic philosophers like Porphyry seem to have been the first to interpret the Mithraic temple in this way. But of the sources to which they refer only a few fragments remain.⁴ I have already stated elsewhere,⁵ that this interpretation of the neoplatonic school is an attempt in one certain direction to give a higher symbolic meaning to traditional customs existing since the first century A.D. when the cult of the Iranian Mitra was transformed into mysteries organized in honour of Mithras. In the same period of the Neoplatonists there were the Christian opponents, some of them even former adepts of the Mithraic doctrine like Firmicus Maternus, who projected their conversion to the new faith in their strongly anti-Mithraic apologetic writings. The texts of these Christian authors are of greater interest for the history of Christianity than for the real knowledge of Mithraism.⁶ The archaeological finds like the paintings of the secret rites in the Mithraeum at S. Maria Capua Vetere have proved enough, I believe, that many of the apologetical assertions are not congruent with the realities we sometimes observe in the remaining sanctuaries themselves. In this way the archaeological discoveries sometimes even contradict the literary sources and as Fr. Cumont has already observed and stated, the written documents of the classical authors, both christian and pagan, are in my opinion too poor to be able to deduce from these sources more than the archaeological finds allow. On the other hand one must be very cautious not to overrate these finds and to pass over to pure hypotheses. Indeed, the interpretation of the Mithraic finds remains even after the discovery of the Sa Prisca Mithraeum a most dangerous enterprise.

One clear example is the subdivision of each Mithraeum in three parts. Here we have to do with such a generally accepted tradition that one recognizes immediately such a sanctuary as a temple for Mithras except that there are clear other indications. This division is known to

⁴ R. Turcan, *Mithras Platonicus. Recherches sur l'hellénisation philosophique de Mithra* (EPRO 47), Leiden 1975.

⁵ M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* IV. *Le monument d'Ottaviano Zeno et le culte de Mithra sur le Célius* (EPRO 16), Leiden 1978.

⁶ C. Colpe, *Die Mithrasmythen und die Kirchenväter in Romanitas et Christianitas. Studia J. H. Waszink*, Amsterdam 1973, 29-43. Cf. E. Demougeot, *Paganus Mithra et Tertullien in Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 78, 1961, 360ff.

have been derived from the Roman triclinium-room. This division of national tradition was exceptionally apt for a cult-room in which sacred meals were common. Were in such a Mithraic cult-room the left side and all its objects dedicated to the dark, evening, winter and death, whereas the right side with its objects were dedicated to the light, morning, summer and life? The principle that right is the favourable direction and the left its opposite was generally accepted in Antiquity and it still is. In Mithraism therefore this theory was equally valid (*iunctio dextrarum*). But how is this idea realized in the Mithraeum? In the Sa Prisca-temple just behind the main entrance there is on either side a niche.⁷ In the orange-coloured right niche stands a statue of Cautes with a cock at his feet (still preserved); the statue of Cautopates (lost) certainly stood in the opposite niche which is painted dark-blue. There is here therefore a clear colour-symbolism which belongs to the two torchbearers but does not prove at all a similar antagonism between the two sides of the whole room. It seems more likely that the torchbearers hold here the position they otherwise would have occupied if making part of the stucco tauroctony group in the cult-niche. A division into two sections left-dark/right-light for the whole Mithraeum is however contradicted by a graffito on the left wall of the cult-niche which makes mention of the birth (*natus prima luce*) either of an adept or of Mithras himself.⁸

In Capua⁹ the Mithraeum is "oriented" in so far as here the entrance is situated at the east side and the cult-niche at the western side. Yet on either side of the entrance there is a similar situation as in the Sa Prisca Mithraeum. At the right side there is a painting of Cautes standing between two laurel trees next to a flaming altar. He holds in his upraised right hand a flaming torch and with his left hand he points a bundle of twigs downwards; at his feet there is a cock. On the left side wall Cautopates is represented who with his outstretched right hand holds a flaming torch pointed downwards above an altar. In his upraised left

⁷ M. J. Vermaseren-C. C. van Essen, *The excavations in the Mithraeum of the church of Santa Prisca in Rome*, Leiden 1965, 133ff.

⁸ Vermaseren-van Essen, 118ff; Margherita Guarducci, *Il graffito natus prima luce nel Mitreo di Santa Prisca* in U. Bianchi (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae* (EPRO 80), Leiden 1979, 153-163 and fig. 1.

⁹ See n. 1.

hand he holds a sickle (*falx*). Both torchbearers wear the same coloured dress. In connexion with the problem of the orientation it is remarkable that in this Mithraeum opposite the western wall, with the fresco of the tauroctony, the eastern wall, next to the entrance, is decorated with a large painting of Luna in her chariot. This might prove that the Mithraists here possibly have neglected the real direction of the sanctuary, otherwise it would be strange that Luna (dark-night) is represented on the east wall and the painting of Mithras *tauroctonos*, the Sol invictus, on the western side. One is inclined to accept that in this case the part next to the entrance is considered as belonging to the realm of the night; entering the sanctuary one arrives in the space where light is to be found in the divine person of Mithras. But as in the Ponza-Mithraeum¹⁰ and in a number of other tauroctonies the position of Cautes, standing in a bright-coloured garment behind the bull, and that of Cautopates, standing in a dark costume before the bull, is here in the reversed order of that of the two torchbearers above the beginning of the *podia*. From the point of view of the representation of the tauroctony itself however their position in Capua is brought into relation with Sol-light and Oceanus on one side and with Luna-dark and Tellus on the other side. Such an immediate connection between Luna and Cautopates is most clearly expressed in the large relief of the Circus Maximus¹¹ Mithraeum, where even the Corinthian capital next to Luna and Cautopates is directed downwards; the relief at Verona¹² gives a similar impression. In Marino there is an identical situation as in Capua. The torchbearers Cautes on the right wall and Cautopates on the left wall near the entrance have nearly the same coloured garments. On the painting of the tauroctony however they not only wear garments of different colour (Cautes/pink; Cautopates/blue) but also their position is in the reversed order of their companions near the entrance. The painting in the Barberini-Mithraeum also shows Cautes at the left and behind the bull, and Cautopates at the right side before the bull. But in this Mithraeum no torchbearers are represented near the entrance. On the Nersae relief again Cautes is seen at the left and Cautopates at the right.

¹⁰ See above Ch. II, n. 23.

¹¹ *CIMRM* I, no 435.

¹² *CIMRM* I, no 759.

It is immediately clear that all these above mentioned examples from Rome and its neighbourhood form one group with identical traits and this could induce the observer to look for a deeper symbolic meaning. In this case there is only one possibility and this is to start from the cult-niche with the representation of the tauroctony. Standing before this most important part of the Mithraeum and looking towards the interior, the side of Sol must be the right and that of Luna the left. Standing however in the entrance the division is reversed. I personally really doubt whether one is on the right way with such a contradictory play, since it is known from many other tauroctonies and especially from those in the northern provinces that Cautes often is standing on Luna's side and Cautopates on the side of Sol! How to arrive at a sort of general solution? With the knowledge we actually have about Mithraism this is not possible.¹³ Besides, one must not forget that Western Mithraism with platonism at its roots, flourished during four centuries and underwent influences of the Stoa, astronomy, astrology, magic and of other related movements. And still it is impossible to study adequately the various periods of this mysterious cult. One is able already to distinguish various groups of monuments; various countries and various communities lay stress on various branches of the doctrine; there is a clear diversity in the adherents of the cult, but most of these oriental or Roman followers do not belong to the higher educated class. Some Mithraea therefore could have been planned under the influence of a *pater*, who indeed was a *studiosus astrologiae*¹⁴ or who in a certain period followed the neo-platonic symbolic interpretation of each part of the sanctuary,¹⁵ but in general the cult had to be understood equally by the simple *miles* or trader. Already the above mentioned group of monuments (Sa Prisca; Marino; Capua; Nersae; Barberini) confirms this point of view. In it one is certainly concerned with communities

¹³ These difficulties are also underlined by P. Beskow, *The Routes of early Mithraism* in J. Duchesne-Guillemin (ed.), *Etudes mithriaques*, Leiden 1978, 7-18, especially p. 9.

¹⁴ *CIMRM* I, no 708 (Mediolanum). For other monuments from Milan not published in *CIMRM*, see Elena Camporini, *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani. Italia Regio XI: Mediolanum-Comum*, Milano 1979, 28 no 12, 45 no 33.

¹⁵ I. Tóth in *Arheološki Vestnik* 28, 1977, 392 n. 30: "Es gibt einige Anhaltspunkte dafür, dass wir diesen 'Propheten' aus Poetovio auch benennen dürfen und zwar aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach war diese Person jener *Hyacinthus*, dessen Name auf den beiden Basen des I. Mithräums in Poetovio aufgeschrieben ist" (*CIMRM* II, nos 1500-1503).

among which certain members were able to decorate their temples with paintings. This is by no means proof of a higher cultural level; at least one might suppose a good understanding of the basic elements and sometimes as at Capua of the initiation-rites of the cult from the side of the painter who almost certainly was himself a member of the Mithraic community, as inscriptions prove,¹⁶ and who had been instructed either by the *pater* or by existing sketch-books. That he spoke and painted for a generally less well-educated people is proved by his narrative style. Here he found enough examples in the public monuments like the triumphal arches and columns. Marino, Barberini and Capua all follow the common concept of the grotto as a kosmos which is indicated either by stars on the vault or by stars on Mithras' flying cloak. In Capua we find in an exceptional way the heads of Oceanus and Tellus; exceptional attention is here paid to the commemorative scenes of the initiation; here there are no side panels, but in the first period of its existence there was a painted scene of the sacred meal on the right wall, whereas at Sa Prisca the same meal has been painted on the left wall. In Barberini the border of the grotto is decorated with the signs of the zodiac with the lion-headed Aion standing on a globe in the centre; Barberini also—as I hope to show below—has two scenes of initiates one of which is akin to a scene in Capua (p. 88). Sa Prisca is famous for its stuccogroups and the painted processions of the seven grade-bearers and of the Lions. Each sanctuary in this group thus has besides common general outlines some characteristic features of its own. It must however have been possible for each member of the community to understand these symbols by the initiation rites and other ceremonies, which especially were directed to the imitation of the terrestrial and exemplary life of the god. And these theories must have been understandable for both less and more instructed people. What must have attracted the initiate to the Mithraic belief certainly was in the first place the imitation of this hero with whom he from the first grade as *corax* onwards was connected in his own personal way. Identification with the divinity and participation at the ceremonies of purification, endurance and the sacred meal bestowed him with the blessing of returning to his original source of light. In this

¹⁶ *CIMRM* I, no 46 cf. no 54 (Dura); Fr. Cumont, *The Dura Mithraeum* (translated by E. D. Francis) in J. R. Hinnells (ed.), *Mithraic Studies* I, Manchester 1975, 169 and n. 104.

way, as in other religious movements of the same period, once born (*natus*) he now was born again (*renatus*) and re-created (*creatus*).¹⁷

Let us now consider after these general remarks the Mitreo delle Sette Sfere at Ostia in which R. L. Gordon recently suggested to see the realisation of "the sacred geography of a Mithraeum". "Sette Sfere provides something like a code-key" writes the author.¹⁸ The Mithraeum is directed with the cult-niche towards the north, yet it has the same partition as to the mosaic figures of the torchbearers on the side-benches: on the front of the right bench is Cautes, on the left bench is Cautopates. If the relief found by Petrini during the excavations in 1802-1804 belongs to this Mithraeum (but this is not certain),¹⁹ then the position of the torchbearers on the benches is again in a reverse order to that of the same figures on the cult-relief.

In this case therefore the Mithraeum of the Sette Sfere would belong to the same above mentioned group. The relief is dated by Giovanni Becatti to the second half of the second century²⁰ and R. L. Gordon attributes it probably between 160 and 180.²¹ To the characteristic traits of this sanctuary belong the two mosaic series of both the planets and of the zodiacal signs which decorate the benches. On the front of the benches there are (left) from the entrance towards the cult-niche the three figures of Luna-Mercury and Jupiter whereas in the same direction there are on the right bench the signs of Mars-Venus and Saturn. Each of the signs is represented in a niche; it is remarkable that the sign of Sol is omitted; the signs of Saturn and Jupiter are the nearest to the cult-niche. Upon the seats of the benches are the signs of the zodiac which start from the left bench near the tauroctony and which end anti-clockwise on the right bench. In this way one finds successively Aries-Taurus-Gemini (signs of the Spring)—Cancer-Leo-Virgo (Summer) on the left bench and proceeds then on the right bench with Pisces-Aquarius-Capricornus (Autumn)—Sagittarius-Scorpio-Wega (Winter). Besides there is at the left of the entrance a ritual basin in the floor and

¹⁷ For this terminology see the dipinti of Sa Prisca (Vermaseren-van Essen).

¹⁸ R. L. Gordon in *JMS* 1, 1976, 200.

¹⁹ Gordon, 146 n. 2.

²⁰ G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia II. I Mitrei*, Rome 1954, 123 with Pl. XXXIV; *CIMRM* 1, nos 239-244.

²¹ Gordon, 146 n. 2.

in the white-black mosaic of the central aisle there is near the entrance a dagger and behind it follow seven half circles representing the seven spheres of the planets.²²

This Mitreo delle Sette Sfere is unique not only in Ostia but in the whole Mithraic world though in Ostia itself there is still another Mithraeum of the Sette Porte²³ with some similar traits. On the floor mosaic before the cult-niche it shows the figures of Saturn and Jupiter and on the front of the side benches there are the signs of Mercury and Venus (left) and of Luna and Mars (right). Here also the sign of Sol is not represented. But there is a significant difference as to the direction in Sette Sfere, where Luna figures on the left side and Venus on the right podium. Yet, at the beginning of the *podia* there are equally in mosaic the damaged figures of the two torchbearers standing on a base (Cautes: right). Other differences: no signs of the zodiac; instead of "sette sfere" there are near the entrance "sette porte" the central one being much larger than the other six; a crater with eagle and snake and a ritual basin are not near the entrance but much more in the direction of the cult-niche. This Mitreo delle Sette Porte is dated by Becatti between 160 and 170.

With the help of the neo-platonic commentary of Porphyry, *De antro nymphaeum* which is "an allegorical explication of Odyssey 13, 102-112 and which contains a number of references to Mithras and his cult"²⁴ R. L. Gordon²⁵ who "takes it for granted, unlike Cumont, that religion is a

²² Becatti, Pls VI-VII.

²³ Becatti, 93ff and Pls XIX-XXI; *CIMRM* I nos 287-288.

²⁴ See R. Beck, *The seat of Mithras at the equinoxes: Porphyry, De antro Nymphaeum* 24 in *JMS* 1, 1976, 95-98 who says of this text (p. 95): "Unfortunately, the text is somewhat unsound at this point (i.e. certain details of iconography together with their astrological implications), and despite emendation the argument of the passage remains quite illogical and its data (at least in part) strangely irrelevant to the point that they are supposed to illustrate. Perhaps because the astrological allusions are in themselves rather complicated and obscure, the full extent of the passage's deficiencies has not as yet been realized". See also J. Pépin, *Porphyre, exégète d'Homère in Porphyre* (Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique, Fondation Hardt XII), Vandoeuvres-Genève 1966, 229-266; J. H. Waszink, *Porphyrios und Numenios in Porphyre* 35-78; R. Turcan, *Mithras Platonius* (EPRO 47), Leiden 1975, 62ff. In general: J. Pépin, *Mythe et Allégorie*, Paris 1976².

²⁵ R. L. Gordon, *The sacred geography of a mithraeum: the example of Sette Sfere* in *JMS* 1, 1976, 119-165; the quotation on p. 119.

rational enterprise”²⁶ tries to prove that in the mosaic decoration of the Mitreo delle Sette Sfere the philosophical allegory of the *thema mundi* has been realized in a most perfect way. The author is of the opinion that he has found in this unique Mithraeum a “code-key” also for other Mithraic sanctuaries where the neoplatonic theories of *genesis* and *apogenesis* of the souls should have been reflected in the exact position of each monument and symbol. He follows in this way the suggestions of LeRoy A. Campbell²⁷ and W. Lentz,²⁸ the latter even stating “that there were Mithraea serving as primitive *observatories* according to the *gnomon principle*. I am convinced that no single serious scholar after having read the fundamental chapters of Turcan’s *Mithras Platonicus* will have confidence in Mr. Gordon’s hypothesis.”²⁹ We must not forget that the few written sources, both Christian and neoplatonic, become less and less important as the excavations make more progress. From the Mithraea themselves and their monuments some sure data are now known which sometimes are confirmed by the ancient authors but in another context. It seems to me that the initiation-scenes at Capua and the *dipinti* of the Santa Prisca Mithraeum have clearly proved that in general the written opinions of the authors are of more interest for knowledge of the history of Christianity and Neoplatonism than for the understanding of Mithraism. This statement does not mean that each written testimony of the authors about the “doctrine of Zoroaster” has no further value. But if they are to have any true value then the text must accurately be compared with the archaeological finds which in some periods increases considerably. In the actual state of our study of

²⁶ I have already stated in *Mithriaca* IV, 26 how the great Belgian scholar, rightly compared with Justus Lipsius (cf. F. de Visscher in *Antiquité Classique* 16, 1947, 13-28) recently became the object of severe attacks by the younger generation. See also H. Lavagne, *Pour une problématique nouvelle des recherches sur la religion de Mithra* in *MEFRA* 87, 1975, 1131-1142 a review which starts with the tasteless sentence “Le meurtre du Père est désormais accompli”. Fortunately the word “Père” is still written with a capital!

²⁷ L. A. Campbell, *Mithraic iconography and ideology* (EPRO 11), Leiden 1968.

²⁸ W. Lentz, *Some peculiarities not hitherto fully understood of “Roman” Mithraic sanctuaries and representations* in *Mithraic Studies* 1975, 358-377; the quotation is on p. 376; cf. Gordon, 120: “by opening the temple to actuality, by admitting evidence of cosmic change from the cosmos itself, as Professor Lentz has forced us to believe”. W. Lentz’s study has some inaccurate opinions about the Mithraeum at Marino (see below).

²⁹ See the excellent review of Turcan’s book by J. Pépin in *REA* 80, 1978, 342f. Mr. Gordon had knowledge of this remarkable book.

Mithraism, where one is in the possession of a quantity of archaeological data and on the other hand one has a lack of a objective written documentation, one must be careful to consider well the specific context of both archaeological and literary document. As to the Christian and neoplatonic documents one must accept the conclusion of Turcan:³⁰ “de toutes les religions orientales, celle de Mithra était la plus foncièrement optimiste et peut-être la plus logique, optimiste et rigoriste à la fois, mystique et rationnelle. On conçoit que le monde ne soit pas devenu mithriaste. Mais on comprend que le mithriacisme ait séduit les platoniciens”. In other words: the Christians were too unfriendly, the neoplatonists too friendly to be objective guides for our knowledge of the Mithraic mysteries.

R. L. Gordon now proposes to explain the Mitreo delle Sette Sfere by means of Porphyry's text which was written about a century later. But Porphyry's text in *De antro Nympharum* 24, upon which Mr. Gordon bases his theory, apart from the fact that its tradition is very uncertain³¹ is not of Porphyry himself but of his predecessors Numenius and Cronius.³² When these two inseparable friends in fact wrote their homeric-mithraic allegories, is not certain³³ but a date during the reign of Commodus (180-192) when Mithraism became very popular is not unlikely. In each case the mosaicist of the Mitreo delle Sette Sfere should then almost immediately before or after “publication” have realized in mosaic what the philosophers had said in their allegorical explanation of the homeric Cave of the Nymphs. And this seems very improbable; but if true the mosaicist's example has been imitated nowhere else, which seems improbable too. And in case of a certain imitation in the Mitreo delle Sette Porte, one clearly did not follow the same project. And what to think in general about Numenius' theories about Mithraism? Already R. Turcan has here given the answer: “Eubule a rédigé son *Enquête sur Mithra*; mais cet ouvrage doit être antérieur au

³⁰ Turcan, 133.

³¹ See above n. 24.

³² Arethusa Monographs I Porphyry, *The Cave of the Nymphs in the Odyssey*, New York 1969, p. 22.

³³ Turcan, 65 with preceding bibliography, see also H. Dörrie in KP s.v. Numenius von Apamea; J. Pépin, *La fortune du De Antro Nympharum de Porphyre en Occident in Plotino e il Neoplatonismo in Oriente e in Occidente* Roma 1974, 527-536.

règne d'Hadrien. C'est sous les Antonins, au II^e siècle de notre ère qu'on voit plus précisément des platoniciens néopythagorisans — Pallas, Celse, Numénius et Cronius — attester la projection de doctrines grecques sur un mithriacisme déjà fortement occidentalisé. Mais les approximations, les disparates et les incohérences de l'interprétation numénienne démontrent que le mithracisme authentique n'a rien à voir en fait avec le platonisme. Jusqu'aux trouvailles de S. Prisca, on pouvait être tenté de faire confiance aux informations numéniennes du *De antro Nympharum*. Certes, Porphyre transcrit quelques données de grande valeur sur le rituel de l'imitation mithriaque. Mais les reconstructions théologiques et allégoriques de l'Apaméen procèdent manifestement d'un annexionnisme platonicien qui fausse le sens même du culte persique. Le déchiffrement des inscriptions métriques de S. Prisca nous permet aujourd'hui de vérifier que Numénius a repensé à sa manière et dans l'optique de son propre système la théologie du Tauroctone".³⁴ This means that each text with a philosophical interpretation of the Mithraic cult in the first place must be considered on its own as a possible contribution to our real knowledge and understanding of these mysteries. Whether the contribution is real and valuable or not can only be confirmed by comparison with the archaeological evidence which comes down directly from the Mithraists themselves. That the allegorical part of the text might not always have been understood by the less well instructed part of the initiates, becomes clear from two remarks in *De antro Nympharum*³⁵ itself. The allegorical exegesis is the means whereby the poet necessitates the reader to search with endurance for the symbolic contexts. Cronius³⁶ is of the opinion that the allegorical sense of the grotto would be clear and Porphyry³⁷ himself repeats this same idea, and it seems quite possible that the philosopher made this exceptional statement to concur with his Christian adversaries. Like the other mysteries (Greek and Egyptian) the "Persian" Mithras had its own secrets which had to be revealed to the initiated in various stages. Up till now the discoveries in the various Mithraea do not prove that the

³⁴ Turcan, 129; 88f.

³⁵ J. Pépin in *Porphyre*, 261ff.

³⁶ Cronius fr. 9 pp. 155-156 ed. Leemans = *De antro* 3, p. 56, 7-9.

³⁷ *De Antro* 36, p. 81, 1-2: οὐ δεῖ δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐξηγήσεις βεβιασμένας ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ εὐρεσιλογούντων πιθανότητος.

Mithraic religion was an adherent of one special philosophical system. During the long history of its spread over the Roman Empire and the transformation of the cult into a coherent doctrine, the Mithraic mysteries borrowed from various sources. In other words their doctrine was an eclectic one which had to promote their religious ideas to a state cult. Mithraism strove to rise above the level of a private cult, but it did not succeed. Therefore, I believe, the symbols of these mysteries must have been intelligible not only to the philosopher and the very *studiosus*; they could not have been concealed behind a heavy iron curtain. When the data of Numenius and Cronius, repeated by Porphyry, offer us a very complicated system, then this is due to Numenius “ce rapetasseur d’oripeaux astro-cosmologiques” and not to the real contents of Mithraism the basic concepts of which are being revealed by excavation.³⁸

One of these general traits we can just derive from the Mithraic sanctuaries is the fact that many of them were directed towards the East; for various reasons many of them however were not oriented. R. L. Gordon is of the opinion that oriented or not each Mithraeum owes its “sacred geography” to the orientation:³⁹ the entrance at the West opposite to the tauroctony in the east; the left podium at the north with the right podium at the southern part of the sanctuary. It may be, but it remains for me a strange fact that the only Mithraeum which for Mr. Gordon served as a “key-code” for others, i.e. the Mitreo delle Sette Sfere at Ostia, is not oriented but must have had the representation of the tauroctony at the northern side.

In the group of Mithraea having at the beginning of the podia respectively a representation of Cautus on the right and of Cautopates on the left bench in opposition to the torchbearers next to the tauroctony (see above) only that of the Sette Sfere shows the zodiacal signs, but the Mithraeum of Santa Prisca does not have any torchbearers near the tauroctony. In Santa Prisca, the sacred meal is represented on the left

³⁸ About these general conceptions, see M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithras, Geschichte eines Kultes*, Stuttgart 1965 which I hope to bring up to date.

³⁹ Gordon in *JMS* 1, 1976, 156 n. 62 about the zodiac in the Mithraeum at Ponza: “the origin of Vermaseren’s difficulty is that he thinks the *actual* cardinal orientation of the *mithraeum* must be significant, which is both unnecessary and utterly ruinous to any attempt to make sense of the Ponza zodiac”.

wall whereas at S. Maria Capua Vetere the sacred repast figures on the right wall. Only the positions of the torchbearers on the beginning of the benches are certain, even in Santa Prisca where they are missing however on both sides of the tauroctony. There is thus an opposition between right and left and a second opposition in direction between the entrance and the cult-niche. The symbols of Cautes and Cautopates who are hypostases of the Sun-Mithras move for each entering person from left to right and from right to left in a circle. This circular movement is also expressed on those monuments which in fact are surrounded by the zodiacal signs; this circular movement is also the very reason why the positions of the torchbearers are able to be changed on the tauroctonies. One must here be very cautious after what has been said above in trying to reconcile the data of Porphyry and Numenius with the archaeological monuments. Even the Siscia⁴⁰ and London⁴¹ reliefs to which now must be added another one from Yugoslavia⁴² are exceptional documents among the large number of representations of which we are actually in possession. With this circular movement also the sequence of the zodiacal signs in the Mitreo delle Sette Sfere is in congruence. Starting at the tauroctony on 21st March with Aries; ending at the right side with Pisces in winter. This might at the same time explain why Saturn has such an important position near the cult-niches of both Sette Sfere and Sette Porte: Saturn is the end of the year and by the birth of Mithras, his successor, at the same time the beginning of the new year. Mithras is the new young Saturn (see below p. 71; 74).

That in both Ostian Mithraea delle Sette Sfere and delle Sette Porte the planet of Sol is not represented might only be explained in accepting that he is here completely identified with Mithras himself. Their order however is neither that of the week nor that of the seven grades; more stress is laid on their mythological significance in connection with the sacred legend of Mithras where each of the planets has its place. But in the floor-mosaics and in the wall paintings of other Ostian Mithraic sanctuaries the seven grades play an equally great role. And the grades

⁴⁰ CIMRM II, no 1472 and fig. 375; Turcan, *Mithras Platonius*, Pl. II.

⁴¹ CIMRM I, no 810 and fig. 218; Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* II, Pl. XXXIII; Turcan, *Mithras Platonius*, Pl. I.

⁴² J. Medini, *Mitrički Relief in Banjevaca* in *Diadora* 8, 1975, 39-88 and Pl. IX; cf. H.-G. Gundel in *Homm. Vermaseren*, 448 and fig. 2.

are in connection with their proper identification with the great hero-example Mithras as well as with the preparation of the soul already during life-time for the definite ascensus after death. The symbols of the floor-mosaic in the Mithraeum of Felicissimus in Ostia⁴³ correspond in this respect with those on the wall paintings in Santa Prisca in Rome. In the same sense also in the Mithraeum delle Sette Sfere and that of the Sette Porte certainly similar ideas have been expressed. In Ostia situated next to the Tiber, the Mithraic communities could not be constructed underground with heavenly vaults. The turning circle of the Kosmos and the sky now were to be clearly indicated on Mithras' flying cloak and on the decoration of the benches and the floor. An original solution for a practical difficulty. But Ostia though in the immediate neighbourhood of the Capital grew up as a sea-port, made for import and export, created for trade and connexions with other sea-peoples; it never became a city for philosophers and persons of a higher cultural taste.

It is however not for these reasons that R. Beck⁴⁴ could not accept the interpretation of R. L. Gordon. With the greatest difficulty he believes that the planets in the two Ostian Mithraea delle Sette Sfere and delle Sette Porte, though "there was no known order in Graeco-Roman astronomy or astrology to which the arrangement seemed to correspond", yet represent an actual arrangement of the planets in the heavens. In this connexion he proposes the date of the spring equinox in either 172 or 173 A.D. Are these years then the dates of the foundation of both these sanctuaries? Because the spring equinoxes already are of importance in each Mithraeum in connexion with the tauroctony. The question seems as yet unresolved and personally I see no other solution than to bring this unique order of the planets in relation with the sacred story of Mithras' earthly life.

We have just observed that Cronius stated that the allegory of the grotto as a symbol of the Kosmos must have been easily understood by each initiate into the Mithraic mysteries. The text of Porphyry mentioning Euboulos as his source runs as follows:⁴⁵ οὗτο καὶ Πέρσαι τὴν εἰς

⁴³ *CIMRM* I, no 299.

⁴⁴ R. Beck in U. Bianchi (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae*, 515-529.

⁴⁵ Porph., *De antro Nympharum*, 6 (= p. 8 Arethusa Monographs): "Similarly, the Persians call the place a cave where they introduce an initiate to the mysteries, revealing to

κάτω κάθοδον τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ πάλιν ἔξοδον μυσταγωγοῦντες τελοῦσι τὸν μύστην, ἐπονομάσαντες σπήλαιον <τὸν> τόπον· πρώτου μὲν, ὡς ἔφη Εὐβουλος, Ζωροάστρου αὐτοφυῆς σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλησίον ὄρεσι τῆς Περσίδος ἀνθηρὸν καὶ πηγὰς ἔχον ἀνιερώσαντος εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ πάντων ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Μίθρου, εἰκόνα φέροντος αὐτῷ τοῦ σπηλαίου τοῦ κόσμου, ὃν ὁ Μίθρας ἐδημιούργησε, τῶν δ' ἐντὸς κατὰ συμμετρους ἀποστάσεις σύμβολα φερόντων τῶν κοσμικῶν στοιχείων καὶ κλιμάτων. This important text from Cumont's book onwards has been sufficiently discussed⁴⁶ in order to demonstrate that the results of the excavations completely confirm the statement ascribed to Euboulos.⁴⁷ About the word ἔξοδος it should be remarked that it occurs together with the word εἴσοδος as a graffito on a column in the Mithraeum at Dura-Europos, this column being at the left side of the sanctuary.⁴⁸ An inscription on a fourth century relief found in a grotto near Tirgşor in Roumania⁴⁹ mentions on the other hand an ἄλσος ἀπόκρυφον Εὐφράτη(ι); here the *spelaeum* itself seems to have been hidden in a wood and near a stream compared with no less than the Euphrates. Many artificial or real grottos used as Mithraic caves, many representations of the tauroctony and many inscriptions clearly indicate the cosmic character. Especially the grotto's vault, the cave's border on the representations of the bullslayer and the god's billowing mantle serve as the appropriate place for the symbolic decoration with stars and the seven planets moving on the heavenly sky.⁵⁰ In the painting of the

him the path by which souls descend and go back again. For Eubulus tells us that Zoroaster was the first to dedicate a natural cave in honour of Mithras, the creator and father of all; it was located in the mountains and had flowers and springs. This cave bore for him the image of the Cosmos which Mithras had created and the things which the cave contained, by their proportionate arrangement, provided him with symbols of the elements and climates of the Cosmos". See also Bidez-Cumont, *Mages hell.*, II, 29, B 18.

⁴⁶ F. Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque*, Paris 1956, 421-459; R. Turcan, *Mithras Platonius*, 24ff; 67ff; H. Lavagne, *Importance de la grotte dans le Mithriacisme en Occident* in J. Duchesne-Guillemin (ed.), *Etudes mithriaques*, 271-278; M. Gervers, *The iconography of the cave in Christian and Mithraic tradition* in U. Bianchi (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae*, 579-596.

⁴⁷ About Euboulos: F. Jacoby in *PWRE* VI s.v. Eubulos; Turcan, 23ff.

⁴⁸ *CIMRM* I, no 66.

⁴⁹ *CIMRM* II, nos 2306-7; D. Pippidi, *Une hypothèse sur Flavius Macedo* in *Studi Clasice* 15, 1973, 165-167 cf. J. G. Keenan in *ZPE* 11, 1973, 33-63; D. Pippidi, *Scythica Minora. Recherches sur les colonies grecques du littoral roumain de la Mer noire*, Bucarest-Amsterdam 1975, 295-297.

⁵⁰ R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* I-II, München 1910; H. P. L'Orange, *Studies in the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World*, Oslo 1953.

Marino-Mithraeum Mithras' garments are full of tiny brilliant stars, but seven of them are larger and more splendid than the others and together with the solar character of the hero himself, these allude to the sacred number of the seven planets (Pl. IV). As in the relief of Neuenheim (Pl. XXI) the mantle of Mithras in the Marino-painting takes the form of a circular globe and two stripes or folds seem to indicate the significant way in which the important signs of the zodiac accomplish their annual course. One observes similar traits in the painting in the Barberini-Mithraeum (Pl. XII) where the globe-like mantle of Mithras is decorated with six large signs amid a series of other small stars; some other large stars with short rays have been painted in the space behind Mithras; the zodiacal signs with the figure of the devouring lion-headed Time as Kosmokrator in the centre decorate the border of the grotto in which the divine Mithras fulfills with upraised gaze his creating and soteriological act of killing the immaculate white bull.

In the painted representations also Mithras is characterized as an oriental or even Persian deity by a phrygian cap, the so-called *pileum phrygium*⁵¹ equally known as *mitra* and *tiara*. This cap is normally the same colour as the *tunica*: in Capua and Marino Mithras' cap is red, but in the Barberini it is green. In Capua the caps of both torchbearers are red, though their tunics are a different colour.⁵² Mithras is like Attis a *pileatus* though this expression of Augustine⁵³ never was applied to him personally in inscriptions and classical texts. In the Marino and Barberini paintings the cap is a simple one and this was also the case of the red cap Mithras wore in the scene of the sacred repast on the left wall of the Santa Prisca Mithraeum. In Capua however the cap is decorated from the top downwards with a border on each side of which are golden vertical threads. Sometimes the cap is decorated with stars or even a jewel has been fastened at its top. Its preferred colour is red and this

⁵¹ Eleonore Dörner, *Deus pileatus* in J. Duchesne-Guillemin (ed.), *Etudes mithriaques* 115-122. Cf. H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra*, Münster 1966.

⁵² In Dura, where the painter uses few colours, Mithras' cap is white. For the colours, see also E. Schwertheim in *Antike Welt* 10, 1979.

⁵³ August., *In Iohann. evang. tract.*, VII, 1, 6 (= Migne, *PL* XXXV, p. 1440 = Hepding, *Attis*, 70): *usque adeo ut ego noverim alquo tempore illius pileati sacerdotem solere dicere: "et ipse pileatus Christianus est"*. Cf. D. M. Cosi, *Attis e Mithra* in U. Bianchi (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae*, 625-638.

colour might have been used in connexion with the bull's blood or also with the war-like character of the *deus invictus*.⁵⁴ During the cult-ceremonies only the *pater* representing on earth Mithras-Saturnus wears the red phrygian cap as the paintings of the seven grades on the right wall of Santa Prisca prove.⁵⁵ The symbols of the *pater* in the Mithraeum of Felicissimus in Ostia⁵⁶ are the *falx* of Saturnus, the phrygian cap, the staff and the ring.

Seneca⁵⁷ mentions that this cap was worn especially in Asia as a privilege of the kings and the richly embroidered garment of Mithras in the paintings of both Capua and Marino immediately brings an oriental king to mind, a divine ruler who as at Nemrud-Dagh is the protector of his vassal-kings.⁵⁸ In Marino (frontispice) Mithras is a young vigorous prince to whom Homer's description of Hermes is appropriate:⁵⁹

βῆ δ' ἰέναι κούρω αἰσυμνητῆρι ἔοικώς,
πρῶτον ὑπηνήτη, τοῦ περ χαριεστάτη ἦβη.

One might equally recall the lofty description of Mithras many centuries later in the so-called Mithras-Liturgy θεὸν ὑπερμεγέθη, φωτινὴν ἔχοντα τὴν ὄψιν, νεώτερον, χρυσοκόμαν, ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀναξυρίσι;⁶⁰ "Thou shall see a god, immensely great, having a bright appearance, youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic and a golden crown and trousers". Mithras has curled blond golden hair; he is like

⁵⁴ Eva Wunderlich, *Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer* (RGV XX), Giessen 1925.

⁵⁵ Vermaseren-van Essen, 155.

⁵⁶ *CIMRM* I, no 299.

⁵⁷ Seneca, *De Beneficiis* VI, 31, 12 (= p. 64 ed. Préchac): *petit ille (sc. Demaratus), ut Sardis, maximam Asiae civitatem, curru vectus intraret rectam capite tiaram gerens; id solis datum regibus, cf. Scholia ad Iuv. 6, 516 (= p. 106 ed. Wessner): phrygia vestitur bucca tiara: sacerdotis habitu, tiara nam galea sacerdotis est, quae per malas veniens mento subligatur. Tiara est Phrygium quod dicunt; Isidorus, Etym., XIX, 31, 4 (= II, ed. Lindsay): Mitra est pileum Phrygium, caput protegens, quale est ornamentum capitis devotarum.*

⁵⁸ Fr. Dörner, *Kommagene in Antike Welt* 6, 1975. Cf. W. Belardi, *Mithra arbiter and rex* in U. Bianchi (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae*, 697-700.

⁵⁹ *Ilias*, XXIV, 347-348.

⁶⁰ A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, Darmstadt 1966², 14; M. W. Meyer, *The "Mithras Liturgie"*, Missoula 1976, 18 = *PGM* IV, 635ff.

Apollo χρυσέαισιν ἀγαλλόμενος κόμαις⁶¹ who is praised by Callimachus⁶² in a special hymn:

καὶ μὲν αἰεὶ καλὸς καὶ αἰεὶ νέος· οὐποτε Φοῖβου
 θηλείας οὐδ' ὅσσον ἐπὶ χνός ἤλθε παρειαῖς·
 αἱ δὲ κόμαι θυόεντα πέδῳ λείβουσιν ἔθειραι,
 ἀλλ' αὐτὴν πανάκειαν· ἐν ἄστεϊ δ' ὧ κεν ἐκεῖναι
 πρῶκες, ἔραζε πέσωσιν ἀκήρια πάντ' ἐγένοντο.

The combination of gold and purple in a garment is a testimony of great wealth and luxury and therefore it distinguishes deities and kings.⁶³ Both colours are sometimes recalled in descriptions of the dress of Dionysus and his followers,⁶⁴ but the recent discoveries in the Mithraeum of San Stefano Rotondo brought to light some painted reliefs on which the colours gold, red and blue prevail as indicators of Mithras' heavenly character.⁶⁵

Mithras wears a golden girdle (*cingulum*) but without a dagger's sheath. In other representations as at Nersae (Pl. XX) the sheath for a dagger or a sword is clearly visible, sometimes the invincible hero wears a *balteus* over his shoulder⁶⁶ with the dagger, which seems to have a golden shaft, and with which the god gives the bull the final thrust with

⁶¹ Mesomedes, ὕμνος εἰς Ἥλιον, 10 (= p. 25 ed. E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Göttingen 1963); cf. A. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, Aalen 1973², 50: "Ἡλιε χρυσοκόμα, διέπων φλογὸς ἀκάματον πῦρ.

⁶² Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo*, 36-41 (= p. 225 ed. Cahen); cf. Fr. Williams, *Callimachus Hymn to Apollo*, Oxford 1978, 36-43.

⁶³ An example is Ovid, *Met.*, III, 556: *purpuraque et pictis intextum vestibis aurum* with a commentary of Fr. Bömer, Heidelberg 1969, 582; cf. J. M. André, *Étude sur les termes de couleur dans la langue latine*, Paris 1949; M. Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity* (Coll. Latomus 116), Brussels 1970.

⁶⁴ Macrobius, *Sat.*, I, 18, 22: a purple peplos; a splendid golden girdle, imitation of the Sun; a wonderful spectacle to see ... cf. P. Boyancé in *RHR* 1955, 201; J. Tondriau, *La dynastie ptolémaïque et la religion dionysiaque* in *Chronique d'Égypte* 50, 1950, 283-316, especially 311.

⁶⁵ E. Lissi-Caronna in *Mysteria Mithrae*, 209; in general see Blümer in *PWRE* VII (2), 1570ff s.v. Gold; P. Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik*, Stockholm 1960.

⁶⁶ *Cingulum* and *balteus* both belong to the warrior. Verg., *Aen.*, XII, 940-944:

*Etiam iamque magis cunctantem flectere moro
 Coeperat, infelix umero cum apparuit alto
 Balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
 Pallantis pueri, victum quem vulnere Turnus
 Straverat atque umeris inimicum insigne gerebat.*

sure hand. The blood will be licked by the black snake and the brown dog who both turn their heads towards the wound. In Antiquity a text of Porphyry⁶⁷ brings the dagger into relation with the zodiacal sign of Aries and with Ares-Mars, because Aries is the sign of the Spring-equinox when Mithras should have killed the bull.⁶⁸ On the other hand Mars is the protector of the grade of *Miles* but in a mosaic representation in the Mitreo delle Sette Sfere in Ostia, where also a dagger is represented on the floor near the entrance, Mars is holding a lance and not a dagger.⁶⁹ In each case the dagger is Mithras' only weapon which sometimes is already present at his birth.⁷⁰ In recent times the interpretation of the bullslaying, in which each of the animals (raven - scorpion - dog - snake) and even the corn-ears (*spica*) should have represented an astronomical sign,⁷¹ seems to me unconvincing. Nor has the artistic conception of the scene been derived from the position of the signs in the sky at springtime. The tauroctony of Mithras as an invincible god has been created by the artists under influence of the representations of Nike-Victoria as a bullslayer.⁷² The scene is the most important one of all the acts which Mithras fulfilled during his stay on earth, and though some *pater, caelo devotus et astris*^{72a} might have reflected the divine act of salvation for the human race in the brilliant signs of heaven during the night, the creation took place when it was light everywhere because

⁶⁷ Porph., *De Antro Nymph.*, 24 (= p. 73, 2-6 ed. Nauck, = p. 24 ed. Arethusa monographs): Τῷ μὲν οὖν Μίθρᾳ οἰκίαν καθέδραν τὴν κατὰ τὰς ἰσημερίας ὑπέταξαν· διὸ χριοῦ μὲν φέρε· Ἀρηίου ζῳδίου τὴν μάχαιραν, ἐποχεῖται δὲ ταύρῳ, Ἀφροδίτης δὲ καὶ ὁ ταῦρος. "The equinoctial region they assigned to Mithras as an appropriate seat. And for this reason he bears the sword of Aries, the sign of Mars, he also rides on a bull, Taurus being assigned to Venus". Cf. Turcan, *Mithras Platonius*, 55; 77.

⁶⁸ Vermaseren-van Essen, *Mithraeum S. Prisca*, 213ff; Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* II, 27: *primus et hic aries astrictius ordine currit*; cf. also Turcan, *Mithras*, 56, n. 81.

⁶⁹ *CIMRM* I, no 239 and fig. 71; no 241, 6.

⁷⁰ *CIMRM* II, index s.v. dagger.

⁷¹ S. Insler, *A new Interpretation of the Bull-slaying Motif in Homm. Vermaseren* II, 519-538; D. R. Small, *The Raven: An Iconographic Adaptation of the Planet Mercury* in U. Bianchi, *Mysteria Mithrae*, 531-549 with the remarks of R. Beck, *ibidem*, 523 n. 22; M. Speidel, *Mithras-Orion* (EPRO 81), Leiden 1980.

⁷² Fr. Saxl, *Mithras, typengeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1931; A. H. Borbein, *Campanareliefs. Typologische und stilkritische Untersuchungen*, Heidelberg 1968, 60-84; cf. Raissa Calza (ed.), *Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphili*, Roma 1977, 108 no 128; Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* IV; Giulia Sfamini Gasparro in *Mysteria Mithrae*, 353.

^{72a} *CIMRM* I, no 406.

Mithras is representing the middle of the day between Cautes and Cautopates. In this connexion it is also remarkable that in the Marino painting where hundred of large and tiny stars are decorating the garment of Mithras no single star has been depicted on the bodies of any of the animals as in the astronomical manuscripts. This single indication would have indicated in a simple way which symbolical meaning was hidden behind the enigmatic and mysteriosophical curtain. Neither at Marino nor in the Barberini paintings, nowhere in the whole mithraic iconography can one find an indication or a confirmation of these astronomical theories.

Cautes and Cautopates are much smaller personalities than Mithras himself; they wear tunics of different colours. As in the S. Prisca Mithraeum, where the colours for the niches of Cautes and Cautopates are respectively bright orange and dark purple,⁷³ the painter of the tauroctony in Marino gave to Cautes' dress the same colour as to Mithras', but Cautopates got a blue tunic. A similar arrangement has been made for the two torchbearers near the entrance, though their position has been contrary to that on the bullslaying scene.⁷⁴ Mithras is looking towards the raven who is perched behind him on the grotto's border; W. H. Lentz⁷⁵ supposed that also a second bird was visible before the god's face, but this slight error is due to the damage the painting has suffered on this side. In the upper corners there are the busts of Sol and Luna both youthful deities. As on many other representations Sol wears a *nimbus* and radiate crown, but the Marino painter in an original way made three broad rays instead of one shooting out into the direction of Mithras and illuminating the grotto at the same time. Yet one of the rays is much longer and approaches Mithras' right ear and eye (Pl. IV); there is an immediate contact between both solar gods and the raven, the divine messenger (*corax-kēruks*) of Helios-Apollo,⁷⁶ who must bring over the command of the Council of the Olympians and especially of Saturn and Jupiter.⁷⁷ The bust and face of Luna in the

⁷³ Vermaseren-van Essen, 133.

⁷⁴ J. R. Hinnells, *The Iconography of Cautes and Cautopates* in *JMS* 1, 1976, 36-67.

⁷⁵ W. Lentz in *Mithraic Studies* II, 373-374.

⁷⁶ Cf. Giuliana Riccioni, *Il tondo apollineo dell'arco di Augusto e il culto di Apollo ad Ariminum* in *Homm. Vermaseren* III, 979-984.

⁷⁷ Cf. Concetta Giuffrè Scibona, *Mithras demiourgos* in *Mysteria Mithrae*, 617-623.

right upper corner of the painting are directed downwards as on so many other representations; a beautiful example is the fine painting recently discovered by Elisa Lissi-Caronna in the Mithraeum in the *castra peregrina* under S. Stefano Rotondo on the Coelius.⁷⁸ In both paintings of Marino and S. Stefano and on that of the Nersae relief as well Luna is turning her head from the tauroctony, whereas on the painting in Mitreo Barberini the Goddess of the Night is directing her head full of attention towards Mithras performing this bloody act in the cave where the bull is loudly roaring in his agony.

In the description of the painting of Marino we have seen the relation between the sequence of its side-panels with the Barberini-painting and the Nersae relief, but a study of the similarities and differences of the small group with all the other representations of the sacred Story of Mithras' life is unnecessary in this monograph.⁷⁹ Studying however these eight side panels (Pls V-VIII), one is inclined to ascribe these to another painter than the one who executed the central scene of the tauroctony. So awkward are in general these side panels in comparison with the main painting. This impression is also strengthened by the position of the two torchbearers and by the grotto's border; the side-panels could have been conceived easily only after completion of the main scene, whereas in the Barberini-Mithraeum both main- and side scenes have been projected from the very beginning.

1) The scene of the battle between Jupiter and the Giants, which opens the series of side panels on the paintings of both the Marino- and Barberini Mithraea as well as on the Nersae-relief, was in Antiquity a beloved theme⁸⁰ long before the creation of the composite Mithraic tauroctonies. In Mithraic art this scene became not really popular; there are only a few representations of this cruel battle between the Olympians under leadership of Jupiter and the snake-footed⁸¹ sons of the Earth,⁸² but on the other hand this mythological drama was even known

⁷⁸ Elisa Lissi-Caronna in *Mysteria Mithrae*, 207 and fig. 1.

⁷⁹ In general: M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithras, Geschichte eines Kultes*, Stuttgart 1965, 59ff.

⁸⁰ Roscher I (2) s.v. Giganten cols 1639ff; P. Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la Mythologie grecque et romaine*, Paris 1958² s.v. Géants; F. Vian, *Répertoire des Gigantomachies*, Paris 1952; F. Vian, *La Guerre des Géants. Le mythe avant l'époque hellénistique*, Paris 1952; KP s.v. Gigantes.

⁸¹ Ovid, *Met.*, I, 184: *Anguipedes*; Ovid, *Tristia* IV, 7, 17: *serpentipedes*.

⁸² KP s.v. Gegeneis (Γηγενεῖς).

on the banks of the Euphrates where it occurs on the paintings in the Mithraeum at Dura-Europos.⁸³ In Rome the battle occurs only in the painting in the Barberini-Mithraeum; the lines of verse in the Mithraeum under the Church of Santa Prisca on the Aventine do not make any allusion to it, but during the first excavations a little marble statue of a Giant with snake-feet and wearing a shield has been discovered.⁸⁴ On the base of this primitive sculpture traces of purple paint have been preserved. In the ante-room of this same Mithraeum the remains of a large male figure in stucco might have had snake-feet and might possibly have represented a Giant.⁸⁵ Where however the battle occurs in Mithraic art, Jupiter is fighting alone without the assistance of other deities or heroes. In the Marino painting the scene is conceived in an original way since Jupiter appears in the sky and not like on the painting in Mitreo Barberini and on the relief from Nersae where he is represented standing while killing the assailing Giants with the thunder-bolt he holds in his upraised right hand. It is likely that the Mithraists interpreted the Gigantomachy as the victory of order over disorder or as the triumph of the Olympians over evil powers. In this case it is not necessary at all to derive this concept from Iranian dualism; both artists and followers of Mithras could easily draw on common ideas of the surrounding greco-roman world.

2-3) The Giants are the sons of Mother Earth⁸⁶ who conceived them by the blood of Ouranos when he was emasculated by his son and successor Kronos-Saturnus. Saturn mutilated his father with the sickle (*harpè*) which therefore also in art-representations is his attribute. At the same time the sickle becomes the symbol of the fertility of which the god is the producer according to his later name.⁸⁷ In the panels representing the legend of Mithras, the reclining Saturn logically had to occur before the battle of Jupiter with the Giants, but in the group Marino-

⁸³ *CIMRM* I, no 42.

⁸⁴ *CIMRM* I, no 491 and fig. 142; Vermaseren-van Essen, *Excavations Santa Prisca* 342f no 23 and Pl. LXXVIII, 1-2.

⁸⁵ Vermaseren-van Essen, 137. In 1963 Giovanni Sansone restored the figure with legs ending in dolphins.

⁸⁶ Roscher s.v. Gaia; Grimal s.v. Gaia; KP s.v. Gaia.

⁸⁷ Varro, *LL*, 5, 64 (= I, p. 60 ed. R. G. Kent): *ab satu est dictus Saturnus*; cf. KP s.v. Saturnus col. 1571; M. Leglay, *Saturne africain* I-II, Paris 1966.

Barberini-Nersae the mighty Saturn is represented between the battle and the birth of the young Mithras.⁸⁸ In this way he seems to have a connexion with both scenes and in an exceptional case⁸⁹ even the scene of a treaty between Saturn and Jupiter is interpolated near that of Mithras' miraculous birth.⁹⁰ There are many different ways in which artists have represented the birth of this vigorous hero who during his lifetime is to be a true friend of mankind in an "age of anxiety".⁹¹ But all artists (painters, sculptors as well as the authors) follow one same tradition: Mithras is born from a rock⁹² and this rock is again the symbol of heavenly sky. In the painting of Mithras' birth in the Mithraeum at Dura-Europos red flames are shooting out from the rock;⁹³ in the painted panel in the Marino Mithraeum the rock from which Mithras is emerging has the form of a globe (Pl. VI); in the beautiful relief at Treves⁹⁴ the child Mithras is already during his birth surrounded by the ring with the zodiacal signs and he himself is holding the globe in his right hand. In the scene at Marino Mithras holds a dagger and a torch in his upraised hands;⁹⁵ in similar representations he sometimes also has other attributes such as ears of corn,⁹⁶ a bunch of grapes, a bow with quiver and arrows,⁹⁷ all of which symbolize the heroic deeds the god

⁸⁸ Cf. also *CIMRM* II, no 1400 (Mauls); *CIMRM* II, no 1430 (Virunum).

⁸⁹ *CIMRM* II, no 1283 and fig. 337 = here Pl. XXI. In *CIMRM* II, no 1292 (Osterburken) Saturn gives the thunderbolt to Jupiter; the next scene is the battle against the Giants.

⁹⁰ Cf. M. J. Vermaseren, *The Miraculous Birth of Mithras* in *Studia G. van Hoorn = Mnemosyne* 4, 1951, 285-301.

⁹¹ Cf. E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*, Cambridge 1965.

⁹² *CIMRM* I-II, index s.v. rockbirth; *petra genatrix*: Justinus, *Dial. cum Tryphone*, 70: "Ὅταν δὲ οἱ τὰ τοῦ Μίθρου μυστήρια παραδίδοντες λέγωσιν ἐκ πέτρας γεγενῆσθαι αὐτόν; Commodianus, *Instructiones*, I, 13: *invictus de petra natus si deus habetur* cf. M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithras, Geschichte eines Kultes*, Stuttgart 1965, 64; Firm. Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.*, 20, 1 (= p. 65 ed. K. Ziegler; p. 93 ed. G. Heuten; p. 204 ed. A. Pastorino): *Alterius profani sacramenti signum est theos ἐκ πέτρας*; Lydus, *De Mens.*, IV, 30 (= p. 90 ed. R. Wuensch): ὥσπερ τὸν πετρογενῆ Μίθραν οἱ Πέρσαι διὰ τὸ τοῦ πυρὸς χέντρον.

⁹³ *CIMRM* I, no 42, 5 and fig. 18.

⁹⁴ *CIMRM* I, no 985 and fig. 237; Vivienne J. Walters, *The Cult of Mithras in the Roman Provinces of Gaul* (EPRO 41), Leiden 1974, 108ff no 39 and Pl. XVIII.

⁹⁵ For comparisons: *CIMRM* I-II, index s.v. Mithras' rockbirth.

⁹⁶ G. Ristow, *Mithras im römischen Köln* (EPRO 42), Leiden 1974, 26 no 24 and Pl. VII; E. Schwertheim, *Die Denkmäler orientalischer Gottheiten im römischen Deutschland* (EPRO 40), Leiden 1974, 17 no 11a and Pl. 3.

⁹⁷ *CIMRM* I, no 590 and figs 165-166.

soon will accomplish. It is also of importance to note, that in the scene at Marino the god is being born without any witnesses, whereas at Barberini and Nersae also Cautus and Cautopates are present at this miracle and full of astonishment both are holding their right hands against their faces. The birth of Mithras is the first of a series of nearly incredible facts connected with his existence on earth. The main fact however is and remains the act of creation by means of the death of the immaculate white bull.⁹⁸

It is just this act of creation which has close connections with the reclining Saturn. In the Mithraeum under the Church of Santa Prisca no special attention was paid to Mithras' rockbirth so far as we know⁹⁹ nor do the unique lines of verse make mention of his birth (*natura*) from the *petra genetrix*. But in the cult-niche where the most glorious deed of Mithras is represented in stucco one sees before the tauroctony the majestic figure of Saturn outstretched in full length.¹⁰⁰ He is wrapped in a long mantle and his guilty head is covered by a veil. He has no sickle in his hand and therefore just the most significant attribute of Saturn is lacking. But on the other hand it is clear enough, that we are concerned here with an "Ur-Gott" of creation with apparent connections with Caelus and Oceanus, as inscriptions discovered at Heddernheim prove,¹⁰¹ who is here present at the tauroctony *probably* fulfilled on his order and *possibly* by his son. One must not forget that in the Mitreo delle Sette Porte in Ostia just before the cult-niche and in the mosaic floor the bust of the veiled Saturn holding the *falx* in his right hand is represented.¹⁰² In this same mosaic floor special attention is paid to the figure of Jupiter, the successor of Saturn, holding a staff and thunder-

⁹⁸ Cf. Concetta Giuffrè Scibona, *Mithras demiourgos in Mysteria Mithrae* (EPRO 80), 615-623.

⁹⁹ Cf. however Vermaseren-van Essen, *Excavations*, 343 no 25 and Pl. LXXVIII, 3.

¹⁰⁰ Vermaseren-van Essen, 131f and Pls XVIII, 1; XIX; XX, 2.

¹⁰¹ *CIMRM* II, no 1127 and fig. 293; Vermaseren-van Essen, 181; Schwertheim, 81f no 61c and Pl. 15: it is to be noted that the front represents Mithras' rockbirth; the sides Cautus-Caelus and Cautopates-Oceanus; see also Vermaseren, *Mithras im römischen Germanien*, Pls 21-22.

¹⁰² *CIMRM* I, no 287 and fig. 82; the bust of Saturn is related with that on the Malakbel-altar in the Capitoline Museum (first cent. A.D.): Helbig, *Führer*, II, 30f no 1182 with bibliography; H. J. W. Drijvers, *The Religion of Palmyra* (Iconography of Religions XV, 15), Leiden 1976, 30 and Pl. XLIII; J. Teixidor, *The Pantheon of Palmyra* (EPRO 79), Leiden 1979, 47 and Pls XV-XVI.

bolt. It seems that during his reign after the victorious battle against the Giants and after a treaty with Saturn (a different version of the usual myth told since Hesiod¹⁰³) Mithras is born and will accomplish his deeds. The representations in Mithraic art seem to bear out this interpretation and also the fact that in the *dipinti* in the Mithraeum of Santa Prisca mentioning the seven successive grades of initiation the highest and principal grade-bearer, i.e. the *pater*, the representative on earth of the divine Mithras himself, is under the special protection (*tutela*) of the planet Saturn.¹⁰⁴ He is the *sophistes* of the cult,¹⁰⁵ the *primus inter pares* and at the same time the *primus inter patres*.¹⁰⁶ It is therefore not necessary to wonder why in the legend of Mithras the reclining Saturn as on the relief of Pettau = Poetovio¹⁰⁷ seems to hand over the dagger to Mithras at his birth. In the group Marino-Barberini-Nersae all three representations show Saturn with the *falx* = *harpè*, but in the relief from Nersae (Pl. XX) this instrument is excessively large and deserves thus special attention. Also in the Mithraic legend Saturn seems to be the god who is dreaming of the creation and this creation will here be done by the newborn god of Time as the successor of the old god of Time. This new god of Time is born in December, the month when the old Saturn yearly is disappearing. Yearly Mithras will close the eternal circle and he will start again as a new and young Saturn, *possibly* even as his son but in each case with a divine command and message as to the creation, whereas Jupiter remains the sovereign ruler whose divine powers on earth are reflected by the government of the Emperor of the Roman State and Empire. In this way and at the same time the private and secret cult of Mithras is reconciled with the official Roman State-cult.¹⁰⁸

One has observed that in the representations of the reclining Saturn the god is resting his head on his left arm and hand. Though the eyes are

¹⁰³ Hesiod, *Theog.*, 453ff (= p. 48ff ed. P. Mazon; p. 128ff ed. M. L. West).

¹⁰⁴ Vermaseren-van Essen, 179ff.

¹⁰⁵ Vermaseren, *Mithras, Geschichte eines Kultes*, 125; cf. Fr. Cumont, *The Dura Mithraeum in Mithraic Studies* I, 202 about the title of σοφιστής and *IMDur.* 39.

¹⁰⁶ *CIMRM* I, no 336: deo Cautel/Flavius Antistianus / v(ir) e(gregius) de decem primis pater patrum.

¹⁰⁷ *CIMRM* II, no 1593 and fig. 408; P. Selem, *Les religions orientales dans la Panonie romaine* (EPRO 85), Leiden 1980, 132f no 92 and Pl. XXV.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. also Vermaseren-van Essen, 192.

not always clearly closed he seems to sleep; in each case the reclining posture in itself belongs to somebody who takes rest. Thirty years ago J. H. Waszink¹⁰⁹ studied two texts about the dreams of Kronos which seem “to derive from one of Aristotle’s now lost dialogues, probably from the *Protrepticus*”. On the other hand these dialogues transmitted at the same time Orphic *theologoumena* as becomes clear especially from some texts of Proclus.¹¹⁰ In this Orphic theology Kronos was a wise god; “he had been nursed by Nyx, the wise goddess, said to be mother of all beings. Moreover, he was the chief adviser of Zeus, and had assisted his son in the creation of the world. About this latter story a few more particulars are known. Before proceeding to the creation of the world, Zeus visited the cave of Nyx who advised him, and moreover, he asked his father for his assistance, having first freed him from his fetters, and humbly addressing him. Kronos must have granted this request, for we are told that Zeus appreciated the advice given by him still more than that given by Nyx”.¹¹¹ It seems that probably also from Orphic concepts derives the close connection between Uranos and Kronos.¹¹²

The archaeological monuments lead to the conclusion that Mithraism adopted the figure of the wise and dreaming Saturn-Kronos, but that it did not follow a connection between him and his father Uranos. A beautiful stone in Mithraeum III at Poetovio and dated to the second half of the third century A.D.¹¹³ shows a remarkable representation of Mithras’ rockbirth. Cautes and Cautopates in oriental dress assist

¹⁰⁹ J. H. Waszink, *Traces of Aristotle’s lost Dialogues in Tertullian* in *Vig. Chr.* 1, 1947, 137-149; cf. Tertullian, *De Anima*, 46, 10: *Solum, si forte, ridebo, qui se existimavit persuasurum, quod prior omnibus Saturnus somniarit; nisi si et prior omnibus vixit. Aristoteles, ignosce ridenti.* J. H. Waszink, *The Dreaming Kronos in the Corpus Hermeticum* in *Mél. Henri Grégoire II*, Brussels 1950, 639-653; cf. *CH X*, 5 (= p. 115 ed. Nock-Festugière): ἥς οἱ δυνάμενοι πλέον τι ἀρύσασθαι τῆς θεάς κατακοιμίζονται πολλάκις [δὲ] ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος εἰς τὴν καλλίστην ὄψιν· ὥπερ Οὐρανὸς καὶ Κρόνος, οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ἐντετυχῆκασιν. Cf. also A. D. Nock-A. J. Festugière, I, p. 122 n. 22 with bibliography, who refer to Fr. Cumont in *RHR* 103, 1931, 29-96, especially 38-39; see also Fr. Cumont, *The Dura Mithraeum* in *Mithraic Studies* I, 172.

¹¹⁰ Waszink, 648-649 = Kern, *Orph. Fr.* 154; 129; 131; 155K; 164K.

¹¹¹ Waszink, 649.

¹¹² Waszink, 652.

¹¹³ See n. 107. On *CIMRM* I, no 321 and fig. 88 (Quadraro near Ostia) next to the reclining Saturn a dagger is sticking in the ground.

Mithras at his birth pulling him out of the rock by his arms. Mithras holds in his upraised hands a knife and a torch. Above this scene Saturn is reclining on a rock or as on the painting at Dura-Europos¹¹⁴ on clouds. He seems to be sleeping; a Victory flies towards him in order to crown his head. Between Saturn and Mithras a dagger is visible. Here is thus indicated a connection between Saturn and Mithras' tauroctony already at the moment of the rockbirth. Saturn has the eyes clearly closed on the left side panel of the relief from Neuenheim,¹¹⁵ but on this relief (Pl. XXI) the order seems somewhat to be disturbed by the artist, since the sequence is the rockbirth; treaty between Jupiter and Saturn; reclining Saturn and Mithras/Atlas. Another relief again from Mithraeum III in Pettau¹¹⁶ shows Saturn seated on a rocky stone and holding a staff in his left hand; Mithras approaches him with his right before his mouth. This curious scene can possibly be interpreted as the visit of Mithras instead of Jupiter to Saturn in his grotto, but now Saturn certainly is not sleeping. Finally we know that in Mithraism Kronos-Saturn has been assimilated to Chronos-Aion. The late Andreas Alföldi¹¹⁷ recently proved that the followers of Mithras borrowed this identification from earlier concepts already existing in the first century B.C. A magnificent testimony is the famous Zoilos-monument discovered in Aphrodisias.¹¹⁸ On part of the frieze dated in the "late thirties B.C.",¹¹⁹ Saturn is seated the body wrapped in a mantle and the head covered by a veil. The god is represented with the eyes closed and with his left hand he supports his head. Above the head is the inscription Aion.¹²⁰ The monument of Aphrodisias is an official document dedicated by the citizens to a freedman of the "son of the divine Julius" as the inscription states. Another document also dated to the first cen-

¹¹⁴ *CIMRM* I, no 42, 1 and 4.

¹¹⁵ *CIMRM* II, no 1283; Vermaseren, *Mithras Germanien*, Pl. 14.

¹¹⁶ *CIMRM* II, no 1579 and fig. 400; P. Selem, *Les religions orientales dans la Pannonie romaine (partie en Yougoslavie)*, 133f no 97 and Pl. XXVI.

¹¹⁷ A. Alföldi, *Aion in Mérida und Aphrodisias*, Mainz 1979, 20ff.

¹¹⁸ A. Giuliano, *Rilievo da Aphrodisias in onore di Zoilos* in *ASAtene* 37-38, 1959-1960, 389-401; C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1968, 47 and 53. Both authors give an erroneous date. See now K. T. Erim in Alföldi's book pp. 35-37 and Joyce Reynolds about the epigraphic evidence, *ibidem*, 38-40.

¹¹⁹ K. T. Erim, 37.

¹²⁰ Alföldi, Pls 28-29.

ture B.C. is the inscription of Eleusis¹²¹ mentioning the statue of an Aion, but here nothing is said about an assimilation with Saturn. On the other hand the newly discovered and much later inscription with the prayer of Cascelia Elegans in the Mithraeum in S. Stefano Rotondo¹²² might easily suggest that the invoked *deus aeternus* is no other than the same Saturn-Aion and possibly at the same time Mithras himself. Finally, the new finds seem to confirm the opinion, I already wrote in 1951: "Mithras is the new Saturn already at his birth".

4) In Italy the scene of Mithras riding the bull occurs only twice: on the painting at Marino where it is the last of the left side panels and on the relief from Nersae (Pl. XX) where it is the first of the right side panels. The scene appears however to be very popular in the Danubian countries¹²³ and here the scene is generally preceded or followed by that of Mithras taurophoros. Sometimes also the scene of Sol kneeling before Mithras is in its immediate neighbourhood. This sequence proves that at least the two scenes of Mithras carrying and riding the bull have to be combined. As on the Neuenheim relief (Pl. XXI) both scenes form part of Mithras' struggle with the bull before he will slaughter the animal. In the panels at Marino and Nersae Mithras is quietly and victoriously seated on the bull, whereas on many other scenes in the provinces more attention is paid to the struggle to master the fierce animal. In the painting at Marino Mithras is riding a white bull which he is holding by one of his horns with his right hand. He has the left arm and hand outstretched as an Emperor who seated on his horse triumphantly greets or addresses the population or troops. On the panel at Nersae however, the god seems to hold both arms outstretched and the bull is galloping facing right. On the painting surrounding the cult-niche in the Dura-Mithraeum¹²⁴ the panel of Mithras riding the bull also shows the animal running to the right. The god this time makes with his upraised right hand the gesture against the evil eye; in his left hand, which is

¹²¹ *CIMRM* II, no 2349 with bibliography.

¹²² S. Panciera, *Il materiale epigrafico dallo Scavo di S. Stefano Rotondo* in *Mysteria Mithrae*, 87-112; G. Mussies, *Cascelia's Prayer* in U. Bianchi-M. J. Vermaseren (edd.), *La Soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero romano* (EPRO 92), Leiden 1981, 156-167.

¹²³ *CIMRM* I-II index s.v. Mithras riding the bull.

¹²⁴ *CIMRM* I, no 42, 9 and fig. 19; Fr. Cumont, *The Dura Mithraeum* in *Mithraic Studies* I, 174.

resting between the bull's horns, he seems to hold a little red-coloured globe. The scene is here represented between those of the water-miracle and of Mithras taurophoros. In Dacia there are two original representations of Mithras riding the bull which both seem to stem from the same workshop. One is of unknown provenance¹²⁵ and has been carved on a marble base; the riding Mithras is holding in his outstretched right hand a burning torch. The other monument¹²⁶ has been discovered at Apulum and shows on a limestone base again Mithras riding the bull and holding a burning torch in his outstretched right hand, but now underneath the forefeet of the bull a stem with three ears of corn is visible. These two monuments not only prove that in Dacia even a separate monument could be erected in honour of Mithras riding the bull, but also that here this scene was conceived as a representation of the victorious god of light whose capture of the bull is a prelude to the tauroctony and to the creation of the ears of corn from the bull's blood and tail. The scene is only once mentioned in the classical literature when Porphyry¹²⁷ after Numenius states that Mithras is "riding the bull of Aphrodite because he is just like the bull the *демиургос* and the Lord of generation". This general sentence seems to be confirmed by the relief from Apulum, but nowhere else in Mithraic art a similar narrow connection of the bull-riding with the bull-slaying has been made. Recently R. Turcan¹²⁸ interpreted the expression "the bull of Aphrodite" as the planetary sign of Venus which according to the theories about the planets has its domicilium in the zodiacal sign of Taurus.¹²⁹ The learned and the simple interpretation both are leading towards the "Leitmotiv" which is the principal and central scene of the Mithras tauroctone. And this will also be the same with the heroic scene of Mithras taurophoros.

5) The fact, however, that in the Rhine- and Danubian provinces the scene does not only frequently occur on the composite reliefs, but that

¹²⁵ *CIMRM* II, no 2186 and fig. 597.

¹²⁶ *CIMRM* II, no 1985 and fig. 518.

¹²⁷ Porph., *De Antro Nymph.*, 24 (p. 24 ed. Arethusa): ἐποχεῖται δὲ ταύρω, Ἀφροδίτης δὲ καὶ ὁ ταῦρος, δημιουργὸς δὲ ὧν ὁ Μίθρας etc. "He also rides on a bull, Taurus being assigned to Venus". This interpunction makes the sentence much more general than Turcan's translation which I quote here.

¹²⁸ R. Turcan, *Mithras Platonicus* (EPRO 47), Leiden 1975, 77ff; 83.

¹²⁹ A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque*, Paris 1899 [Brussels 1963], 133f; 188f.

several times special monuments dedicated to this very scene of the *transitus dei* have been erected is a testimony of its popularity in these countries.¹³⁰ In Italy the representations of the god who carries the bull by its hindlegs on his shoulders are scarce; the statue of Mithras taurophoros from Aquileia¹³¹ clearly has been made in the same workshops working for Poetovio. As to the Mithraic temples in this latter town I. Tóth¹³² recently even suggested that the monuments of the *transitus* here had a fixed symbolic place in the sanctuary. It seems that in Rome and its immediate surroundings the followers of the Mithraic mysteries did not have such a need for visual expression of Mithras' heroic and Herculean deeds as the adherents in the more remote cities and villages had. From the Capital we only know two representations of Mithras carrying the bull: the last panel at the left side of the painting in the Barberini-Mithraeum (Pl. XIV) reproduces the scene only vaguely and sketchily; the beautiful relief belonging to the *spelaeum* near the Circus Maximus pays special attention to this *transitus* now represented before a grotto and immediately behind the tauroctony.¹³³ The *transitus* of the bull into the grotto is indeed the end of the animal's struggle with the *deus invictus*; the final act of the drama will follow soon. On the relief from Quadraro near Ostia¹³⁴ the scene occurs as a panel on the right side, but a curious terra sigillata plate found at Lanuvium¹³⁵ shows on its inner side together the two scenes of Mithras taurophoros and tauroctonos. To these scarce monuments now the painting on the right side panel of the bullslaying at Marino can be added. As on the identical painting of this scene in the Dura-Mithraeum¹³⁶ Mithras is carrying the young white bull (*iuvencus*) on his shoulders to the dark grotto (Pl.

¹³⁰ *CIMRM* II general index s.v. Mithras carrying the bull; epigraphical index s.v. *transitus*; cf. C. Clemen, *Der Mithrasmythus* in *BJ* 142, 1937, 13-26; Vermaseren, *Mithras*, 63ff.

¹³¹ V. Scrinari, *Museo archeologico di Aquileia. Catalogo delle sculture romane*, Roma 1972, 102 no 313 with figs. Middle of the second century A.D. Other representations of Mithras taurophorus alone: *CIMRM* I, no 77 (Sidon); II, nos 1091; 1168; 1250; 1663.

¹³² I. Tóth in *Arheološki Vestnik Ljubljana* 28, 1977, 387ff; *CIMRM* II, no 1494; P. Selem, *Rel. or. Pannonie*, 104 no 40 and Pl. XXII.

¹³³ *CIMRM* I, no 435 and fig. 122.

¹³⁴ *CIMRM* I, no 321 and fig. 88.

¹³⁵ *CIMRM* I, no 207 and fig. 66.

¹³⁶ *CIMRM* I, no 42, 10 and fig. 19; Fr. Cumont, *The Dura Mithraeum*, 174.

VII). In the Aventine-Mithraeum under Sa Prisca, where the *transitus* itself has not been represented, two lines of verse however are dedicated to the memory of this deed, the youthful god accomplished according to the will of the gods:¹³⁷

l. 7 *Hunc quem aur<ei>s humeris portavit more iuencum.*

l. 9 *Atque perlata umeris t(u)li m(a)xima divum.*

This interpretation of the *transitus* as a heavenly command to be followed by the initiates of the god who gave the example is easier to understand than the enigmatic words of Porphyry¹³⁸ and of the apologist Firmicus Maternus.¹³⁹ Now Mithras is called the βουκλόπος θεός and a *virum abactorem bovum* who *vertebat boves alienos semper in antris, sicut et Cacus Vulcani filius ille*¹⁴⁰ and the mystes is invoked as a μύστα βουκλοπίης. The comparison with Cacus¹⁴¹ who near the Forum Boarium had stolen some of Hercules' cattle and the designation of Mithras as a cattle thief point to a tradition according to which the god averted the bull from the evil powers¹⁴² and so protected the animal in purity when being slaughtered in the grotto.

6-7) In Marino (Pls VII-VIII) and in Nersae (Pl. XX) the scenes of Sol kneeling before Mithras and of the alliance between Mithras and Sol as on many other representations clearly belong together. In the Marino-panel the submission of Sol precedes the treaty, whereas on the Nersae-relief the real treaty is the first scene, but even then Sol is not standing but kneeling as in the submission. In the Barberini-painting however both scenes are separated from each other by the representation of Mithras-Atlas (Pl. XI). The scene occurs also on the painted panels in the Dura-Mithraeum.¹⁴³ This representation is particularly interesting, since Mithras triumphantly has removed Sol's red cap and he is holding it in his upraised right hand; Mithras puts his left hand on Sol's head; above the kneeling Sol a radiate crown is visible. In nearly all similar

¹³⁷ Vermaseren-van Essen, *Excavations S. Prisca*, 200-205.

¹³⁸ Porph., *De antro Nymph.*, 18 (= p. 20 ed. Arethusa). The text is corrupt here.

¹³⁹ Firm. Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.*, 5, 2 (= p. 12 ed. Ziegler; p. 64 ed. Pastorino).

¹⁴⁰ Commodian, *Instr.*, I, 13.

¹⁴¹ KP s.v. Cacus with bibliography.

¹⁴² Cf. Turcan, *Mithras Platonius*, 75-77.

¹⁴³ *CIMRM* I, no 42, 11 and fig. 20; Fr. Cumont, *The Dura Mithraeum*, 175f.

scenes Sol is shown as an initiate completely nude, sometimes wearing only a shouldercape. Franz Cumont suggested a comparison with the coronation of Tiridates by Nero¹⁴⁴ and the scene indeed might be interpreted as the investiture of Sol by Mithras and as an example of the initiation by the *pater*. Yet, the scene sometimes offers a difficulty as to the object which Mithras is holding in his upraised hand and with which he seems to be willing to give Sol a "Ritterschlag". In many representations the object is, as we saw a phrygian cap¹⁴⁵ and it is also a white oblong cap with which on the Marino-panel Mithras in dark phrygian dress and billowing cloak approaches the kneeling nude Sol whose head is surrounded by a *nimbus* and radiate crown and who as a suppliant has both hands outstretched towards Mithras. In the corresponding scene on the Nersae-relief Mithras also seems to hold an oblong phrygian cap with necklaces in his upraised right hand whereas with the left hand he has grasped Sol by his head. In a relief from Dacia the object again is clearly a cap;¹⁴⁶ the related representations on the reliefs of Osterburken¹⁴⁷ and Virunum¹⁴⁸ show in Mithras' upraised hand an object which at the top is somewhat broader but an interpretation as a cap cannot be ruled out. The panel in the Barberini-painting however reproduces an object which seems to be a club. Under influence of the so-called Mithras' Liturgie A. Dieterich¹⁴⁹ suggested that in some Mithraic reliefs the object should be interpreted as a "Rindschulter" (ὠμος μόσχου) but this does not seem to me convincing, since the "golden shoulder of a young bull", as the text says, is indicated in none of the paintings (white in Marino; red in Dura).

The second scene of the alliance between Mithras and Sol recalls a similar treaty of Saturn who on the relief of Neuenheim (Pl. XXI)

¹⁴⁴ Fr. Cumont, *L'iniziazione di Nerone da parte di Tiridate d'Armenia* in *Rivista di Filologia* 61, 1933, 145-154; Cassius Dio, 63, 10: καὶ ἡλθὼν τε πρὸς σὲ τὸν ἑμὸν θεὸν, προσκυνήσων σὲ ὡς καὶ τὸν Μίθραν; cf. Ps. Callisthenes, 2, 14, 5 (ed. Kroll): αὐτὸν προσεκύνησεν ὡς Μίθραν.

¹⁴⁵ M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithras, Geschichte eines Kultes*, 77ff.

¹⁴⁶ *CIMRM* II, no 2190 and fig. 601; Mithras puts the cap on the head of Sol who is kneeling before him and who holds both hands before his face. Compare the relief from Rome: *CIMRM* I, no 350 and fig. 98. *CIMRM* I, no 321 and fig. 88 however is a coronation-scene.

¹⁴⁷ *CIMRM* II, no 1292 and fig. 340.

¹⁴⁸ *CIMRM* II, no 1430 and fig. 366.

¹⁴⁹ A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, Leipzig-Berlin 1923¹, Darmstadt 1966, 76f.

transfers to Jupiter as new ruler of the world the thunderbolt he is holding above a stone altar. In the same way Mithras after having accomplished his miraculous deeds on behalf of Mankind is now handing over his powers to the other Sol invictus who becomes by this treaty his companion before ascending on the solar chariot to heaven or Olympus. Recently M. Le Glay¹⁵⁰ in an extensive study proved that this alliance confirmed by shaking the right and favoured hands (*dexiosis*; *iunctio dextrarum*) is an usual and normal scene in Greek and Roman art.¹⁵¹ The artists therefore could easily borrow it from the surrounding artistic world and adapt it to the Mithraic cult. *Concordia* and *Fides* are the basic background ideas of this representation; an oath (*sacramentum*) serves as the official confirmation of this treaty and the initiates follow their divine leader and his representative on earth (*pater*) by the same alliance after which they, as both authors and inscriptions testify, in the future are called *fratres*, *socii*, *sodales* or *syndexii*.¹⁵² Yet, the artists working after the indications of the Father of the community gave several variants on the same theme. In the panel at Marino (Pl. VIII) Sol and Mithras are standing on either side of a little altar which itself has been put on a larger base. This altar is on its front decorated with a leaf crown and it is bearing fruit which seems to be offered to the gods by the two companions. Sol is nude except for a long shouldercape; his youthful head with wild hair¹⁵³ is surrounded by a white *nimbus*. Mithras wearing his usual dark-red oriental garment touches Sol's wrist

¹⁵⁰ M. Le Glay, *La ΔΕΞΙΩΣΙΣ dans les Mystères de Mithra* in J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Etudes mithriaques*, 279-303. See also F. K. Dörner, *Kommagene. Götterthron und Königsgräber am Euphrat*, Bergisch Gladbach 1981, 212.

¹⁵¹ L. Reekmans, *La "dextrarum iunctio" dans l'iconographie romaine et paléochrétienne* in *Bull. Inst. belge Rome* 31, 1958, 23-95, cf. G. Bovini, *Le scene della dextrarum iunctio nell'arte cristiana* in *BCR* 72, 1946-1948, 103-117. For examples on coins: A. Kunkel, *Der römische Genius*, Heidelberg 1974, 130 and Pl. 6. For *Fides*, see P. Boyancé, "*Fides romana*" et la vie internationale in *Etudes sur la religion romaine*, Rome 1972, 105-119; P. Boyancé, *La main de Fides* in *ibidem*, 121-133; P. Boyancé, *Les Romains, peuple de la Fides* in *ibidem*, 135-152.

¹⁵² M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithras, Geschichte eines Kultes*, 79, 111f. For *syndexii*: Firm. Maternus, *De Err. prof. rel.*, 5, 2; *CIMRM* I, no 423; E. D. Francis in *Mithraic Studies* II, 438f; see also p. 444 for the discussion of ἀβρός or ἄβρος λέων (companion).

¹⁵³ Cf. G. Kleiner, *Helios and Sol in Charitas. Mélanges E. Langlotz* 1957, 101-104; the beautiful intarsio of Sol found in Sa Prisca: Vermaseren-van Essen, *Excavations*, Pl. XXXVII; R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome: the Late Empire*, London 1971, 92. Date: about A.D. 230.

with the fingers of the right hand; in his left hand he seems to hold either a knife or stone with which, as other representations suggest,¹⁵⁴ he will draw some blood as testimony of the eternal alliance. In the scene on the relief at Nersae (Pl. XX) Sol is now completely nude and still kneeling on one knee before Mithras. Both are represented on either side of a little burning altar. This time Sol is holding a dagger downwards next to the altar and with the left hand he seems to grasp the oriental god by the wrist of his outstretched right hand in which he is holding a knife. But the ascension of both companions to heaven or their communal sacred meal, which otherwise after the bullslaying belongs to the most important moments in the lifetime of Mithras and his followers, are represented neither on the Nersae relief nor on the Marino painting. On the other hand the painter of the Barberini-Mithraeum paid attention to these two scenes and as we shall see in an original way. The same artist also created a beautiful scene of the treaty (Pl. XV). Mithras and Sol are standing on either side of a circular white marble column which now takes the place of the usual altar. Mithras is in oriental dress which as on the other side panels consists of a white *tunica*, *anaxyrides* and cap and of a bright red shouldercape. Sol only wears a long reddish shouldercape. Both deities put with their right hands a spit with little pieces of meat on the altar. The scene is related to that on an altar found in Mithraeum III at Pettau¹⁵⁵ where the raven is flying in the direction of the altar in order to pick away some part of the bull's meat just as the snake and the dog have already licked the bull's blood and the scorpion tried to have part of the animal's *semen* at his death. Also by means of this representation the *mystae* are reminded of the sacred repast which at first will be begun by the Father and the Heliodromus, served by the lower grade-bearers.¹⁵⁶ The gods will take the repast in heaven unless they descend to earth in order to be present amid their adherents on

¹⁵⁴ *CIMRM* I, no 350 and fig. 98. In general *CIMRM* index s.v. Mithras' alliance.

¹⁵⁵ *CIMRM* II, no 1584 and fig. 403; P. Selem, *Rel. or. Pannonie*, 130f no 91 and Pl. XXIV.

¹⁵⁶ Vermaseren, *Mithras*, 78ff; Vermaseren-van Essen, 152ff; 218ff; J. P. Kane, *The Mithraic cult meal in its Greek and Roman environment* in *Mithraic Studies* II, 313-351 ('denial of the sacramental feast on bull's blood and flesh as posited by Vermaseren'): M. Meslin, *Convivialité ou communion sacramentelle? Repas mithriaque et Eucharistie chrétienne* in *Mélanges offerts à Marcel Simon*, Paris 1978, 295-305; R. Turcan, *Note sur la liturgie mithriaque* in *RHR* 1978, 147-157.

earth. Or, and this is indicated by the Barberini painter in a most original way, the situation is reversed: what the initiates imitate on earth in taking together the sacred meal of meat and blood, in a devilish way replaced by bread and wine,¹⁵⁷ the same companions once without any doubt themselves will do in heaven. The panel of the sacred meal in the sanctuary of the Barberini Gardens shows seven persons,¹⁵⁸ representatives of the seven grade-bearers, seated or reclined at a table (Pl. XVII). And what happens? There appears Mithras himself in full oriental dress and much taller than the dining guests, greeting his followers by bringing his right hand to his mouth. He approaches the tripod upon which are lying the bull's head, recognizable by his horns,¹⁵⁹ and probably a loaf! A scene unique in Mithraic art which at the same time makes an allusion to the internal and eternal cohesion between the afterlife and life on earth.

The paintings in Mitreo Barberini have two further side-panels which do not occur in Nersae and Marino viz. Mithras ascending Sol's chariot and the representation of Mithras-Atlas. Generally the scenes of the ascension are faced left, but the painter in Barberini made his composition facing right. He had a preference for paying full attention to Sol's *quadriga* with the fierce horses with which he filled the whole panel. And this is quite understandable since he knew this representation as a famous master-piece in classical art.¹⁶⁰ Sol in red shouldercape and green tunic, his head surrounded by twelve rays, is standing proudly in

¹⁵⁷ Tertullian, *De praescr.*, 40. Cf. M. Simon, *Sur une formule liturgique mithriaque* in *RHPhR* 1976, 278-288.

¹⁵⁸ Erroneously in *CIMRM* I, no 390 "three persons"; according to G. Annibaldi in *BCR* 71, 1943-1945 [1947], 107 there are "sei convitati". The scene may be compared with *CIMRM* II, no 1175 and fig. 311 (Stockstadt) where six or seven (the left corner of the relief is missing) persons are lying on a bench; Schwertheim, *Denkmäler or. Gotth. in r. Deutschland*, 140, no 116, o and Pl. 29; Vermaseren, *Mithras Germanien*, 52 and fig. 29.

¹⁵⁹ A bull's head in the floor-mosaic in the Mitreo degli Animali at Ostia: *CIMRM* I, no 279; the bull's skin and head are covering the couch: *CIMRM* I, no 641 and fig. 180 (Fiano Romano); *CIMRM* II, no 1896 and fig. 491 (Konjic); Schwertheim, *Denkmäler Germanien*, 188f no 144 and Pl. 42 (Ladenburg); Vermaseren, *Mithras Germanien*, 49 and fig. 26; the repast and the dead bull: *CIMRM* II, no 1083 and fig. 275 (Hedernheim), 67ff no 59, a and Pl. 12.

¹⁶⁰ Rapp in Roscher I (2) s.v. Helios; Jessen in *PWRE* s.v. Helios; R. Holland, *Zur Typik der Himmelfahrt* in *ARW* 23, 1925, 207-220; K. Schauenburg, *Helios, archäologisch-mythologische Studien über den antiken Sonnengott*, Berlin 1955. For the representations in Mithraic art, see *CIMRM* I-II, general index s.v. ascension.

his chariot (Pl. XV). He stretches his right hand out to Mithras of whom only scarce traces are preserved somewhat outside the left lower corner of the panel and underneath the bust of Luna. The painter apparently met some difficulties in making a coherent scene adapted to Mithraic art.

The second scene is that of Mithras-Atlas.¹⁶¹ Here also the Barberini-painter had sufficient examples in the repertorium of classical art at hand to draw from.¹⁶² Atlas is usually kneeling on one knee when he is bearing the globe on his shoulders and on some Mithraic reliefs¹⁶³ the vigorous Mithras is represented in the same way (ῥμοφόρος). In Mitreo Barberini however he is kneeling between two cypress-trees and with the left hand he touches the yellow soil, whereas he holds the upraised right hand against the vaulted arch of the heavenly sky. The representation is related to a panel on a relief from Mithraeum III at Pettau,¹⁶⁴ but here Mithras is turned towards the right and in the following panel underneath the god three cypress-trees are standing in a row and from the top of each tree a head in phrygian cap seems to emerge. These trees therefore probably are symbols of the Mithraic trinity.¹⁶⁵ On the famous relief of Mithras' rockbirth at Treves¹⁶⁶ the god already as a child is holding the globe in his left hand and with the upraised right hand he sustains the zodiacal ring which surrounds him. It is possibly not without a certain symbolic meaning that Mithras always touches the heaven with the right hand just where in the tauroctony the bust of Sol appears and the golden light starts to govern the day.

8) The last scene of the right panels on the painting at Marino is that of the water-miracle, a scene which was particularly popular in

¹⁶¹ See *CIMRM* I-II, general index s.v. Mithras-Atlas; Vermaseren, *Mithras*, 93.

¹⁶² *PWRE* s.v. Atlas; Roscher s.v. Atlas; *KP* s.v. Atlas.

¹⁶³ Neuenheim: Pl. XVIII; Osterburken: *CIMRM* II, no 1292 and fig. 340; Schwertheim, *Denkmäler Germanien*, 192ff no 148a and Taf. 44; Vermaseren, *Mithras Germanien* 60 and figs 9-10.

¹⁶⁴ *CIMRM* II, no 1510 and fig. 386.

¹⁶⁵ Three trees on the Hedderheim-relief; from the top of a fourth one a bust is emerging (*CIMRM* II, no 1083 and fig. 274); cf. the altar of Malakbel in the Capitoline Museum: J. Teixidor, *The Pantheon of Palmyra* (EPRO 79), Leiden 1979, 47 and Pl. XV, 1. See also the pedestal from Trier: Vivienne J. Walters, *Mithras Gaul*, 115ff no 45 and Pls XXIII-XXVI. Three heads in phrygian cap emerge from a tree in Dieburg: *CIMRM* II, no 1247 and fig. 323; Schwertheim, *Denkmäler Germanien*, 160ff no 123a and Pl. 31.

¹⁶⁶ *CIMRM* I, no 985 and fig. 237; Walters, *Mithras Gaul*, 108 no 39 and Pl. XVIII.

Mithraic¹⁶⁷ and no less in Christian art.¹⁶⁸ The Marino painting is here faded, but studying the vague outlines attentively one is able to distinguish Mithras in Oriental dress standing before a huge rock and facing right. He is shooting an arrow from a large bow. On the soil another person in oriental dress and with outstretched hands is kneeling before the rock. In the Barberini-Mithraeum the scene of the water-miracle is equally vague and only its outlines are preserved. Here the panel follows after the scene of the miraculous birth which is assisted by Cautes and Cautopates. These two hypostasis of Mithras himself are also present now that the divine hero is shooting water out of the rock, and they will be the first to drink the refreshing water which in fact, as is stated in a line of verse in the Sa Prisca Mithraeum,¹⁶⁹ has no less value than *nectar*, the beverage of the gods.

In the comparison of the Barberini painting with the representations in Marino and Nersae it becomes immediately clear that the Mithraeum in Rome has a longer series of the main miracles in the Mithraic mysteries than those in the surrounding villages. It is especially remarkable that in the latter the scene of the sacred repast has been completely omitted. In the Mithraeum at Capua¹⁷⁰ where there are no side-panels at all, the sacred meal had been painted on the right wall of the Mithraeum. Besides great attention has been paid to the secret scenes of the initiation. In the Aventine Mithraeum the repast of Mithras and Sol received a large and beautiful picture on the left side wall near the cult-

¹⁶⁷ *CIMRM* I-II, general index s.v. Mithras' water-miracle; Vermaseren, *Mithras, Geschichte eines Kultes*, 68-71. For Dura: *CIMRM* I, no 42, 8 and fig. 19; Fr. Cumont, *Dura Mithraeum*, 173; Besigheim: *CIMRM* II, no 1301 and fig. 345; Pettau: *CIMRM* II, no 1584 and fig. 404; P. Selem, 130 no 91.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. M. J. Vermaseren, *Religions in Competition with Christianity* in A. Toynbee (ed.), *The Crucible of Christianity*, London 1969, 235-260; especially 248f; P. du Bourguet, *Art paléochrétien*, Lausanne 1971; for Moses: C. O. Nordström, *The Water Miracles of Moses in Jewish Legend and Byzantine Art in Orientalia Suecana* 7, 1958, 78-109; P. P. V. van Moorsel, *Rots wonder of Doortocht door de Rode Zee. De rol van beide in de vroeg-christelijke letteren en Kunst in Mededelingen Ned. Hist. Inst. Rome* 33, 1965, 105-129; J. G. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism*, New York 1972; compare also the miracle of the source by St. Francis: G. Vigorelli, *L'opera completa di Giotto*, Milano 1966, Pl. XII.

¹⁶⁹ Vermaseren-van Essen, *Excavations Sa Prisca*, 193-200 with extensive commentary on line 4: *Fons concludit petris geminos qui aluisti nectare fratres*.

¹⁷⁰ M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* I, *The Mithraeum at S. Maria Capua Vetere* (EPRO 16), Leiden 1971.

niche, and the actual initiates with the grade of *Leo* take part at this most important holy meal by bringing in procession food and drink to the grotto where the two divine heroes are reclining on a couch.¹⁷¹ Another two processions show the representatives of the seven grade-bearers and a procession of *Leones* with the animals for the suovetaurilia-sacrifice.¹⁷² This means that in the painted sanctuaries of Capua and Sa Prisca as in the Dura-Mithraeum¹⁷³ there is a more direct connexion between the representations and the actual service in the community; tauroctony and the cult-meal immediately belong together; there more stress has been laid on the most holy and secret events in Mithraism. The Mithraeum Barberini is more related to this more symbolic group. The painting shows not only the heroic deeds of the god, but also the sacred repast of the seven grade-bearers in heaven in the presence of Mithras himself who is represented much taller than his followers who are now tiny figures reclining behind the table. Moreover the painter decorated the border of the grotto with the twelve signs of the zodiac (Pl. XVI); a second vaulted arch above the tauroctony shows a row of probably seven burning altars alternating with trees (Pls XI and XVI); the pilasters of the sanctuary are decorated with at least two scenes of the initiation-rites. Indeed, the archaeological finds lead to the conclusion, that each Mithraeum is like a personality with its own characteristic traits in its own particular surrounding world and period of time.

1) As on various other representations in Mithraic art,¹⁷⁴ the arched vault of the grotto in which Mithras is slaying the bull is decorated with the twelve signs of the zodiac. Sometimes the representation is surrounded by the circle with the zodiacal signs;¹⁷⁵ in an exceptional way the otherwise primitive Mithraeum on the Isle of Ponza¹⁷⁶ has a circular

¹⁷¹ Vermaseren-van Essen, *Excavations*, 150ff and Pls LV-LVIII.

¹⁷² Vermaseren-van Essen, *Excavations*, 160ff.

¹⁷³ *CIMRM* I, no 42, 13 and fig. 21; Fr. Cumont, *Dura Mithraeum*, 177ff.

¹⁷⁴ *CIMRM* I-II, general index s.v. zodiac; H. G. Gundel in *PWRE* s.v. Zodiakos cols 462-709; H. G. Gundel, *Imagines zodiaci* in *Homm. Vermaseren* I, 438-454. •

¹⁷⁵ Cf. R. Turcan, *Mithras Platonius*, 84ff and Pls I-II. Note also the new relief at Banjevaca in Yugoslavia, published by J. Medini in *Diadora* 8, 1975, 39-88. For the bronzes of Angleur, see now Germaine Faider-Feytmans in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles* 46, 1974 [1977], 71-91.

¹⁷⁶ M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* II, *The Mithraeum at Ponza* (EPRO 16), Leiden 1974. See above p. 59, n. 3.

zodiac in stucco on its vault. As in most other cases the painting in the Barberini-Mithraeum starts at the right side with the sign of *Aries* and ends at the left with *Pisces*. In the centre of these twelve signs there is the standing figure of the lion-headed Aion to which all signs are directed (Pl. XVI). He is standing on a blue globe which is decorated with the *eclipse*; his body is entwined by a snake putting its head on Aion's; the god holds in his left hand a key. Nowhere else is expression so clearly given to the concept of Eternal Time as the sovereign of the Zodiac; nowhere else does it become so clear that the devouring lion-headed god can exist only by means of the zodiacal signs which are the mighty rulers of the seasons and months of the year. On the other hand this figure of Aion standing on a globe also occurs in some statues erected in his honour¹⁷⁷ and we know that in the Mithraic mysteries he was connected with the god and with the planet Saturn.¹⁷⁸ As such one finds him as the tutor of the Father of the community¹⁷⁹ (Sa Prisca) or represented as the central figure of the planets as on the relief at Bologna;¹⁸⁰ the panels above the tauroctony in the Dura-Mithraeum show him in the centre of the other representations.¹⁸¹ In all these cases he is a veiled old god, ruler of the seven planets and producer of the vegetation; he is then not the *monstruosum portentum* of whom St. Jerome is speaking in his letter to Laeta.¹⁸² He sometimes also occurs, as in Merida,¹⁸³ as a young god of Time who is identified with Mithras himself. No wonder therefore that his head sometimes is that of a Lion who according to the Mithraic doctrine is the symbol of fire *per quos consumimur ipsi*.¹⁸⁴ Aion-Saturn is

¹⁷⁷ *CIMRM* I-II general index s.v. Aion; compare especially *CIMRM* I, no 543 and fig. 152; no 545 and fig. 153; no 551 and fig. 157; Vermaseren, *Mithras*, 94-104; Vermaseren, *A Magical Time god in Mithraic Studies* II, 446-456.

¹⁷⁸ See also M. J. Vermaseren, *La sotériologie dans les Papyri Graecae Magicae* in U. Bianchi-M. J. Vermaseren (edd.), *La Soteriologia dei Culti orientali nell'Impero romano* (EPRO 92), Leiden 1981, 17-30; especially p. 28.

¹⁷⁹ Vermaseren-van Essen, *Excavations*, 155.

¹⁸⁰ *CIMRM* I, no 693 and fig. 195; M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* IV, *Le monument d'Ottaviano Zeno* (EPRO 16), Leiden 1978, 37 and Pls XXVI-XXVII. Compare the bronze from Brigetio, where Saturn opens the week: *CIMRM* II, no 1727 and fig. 448.

¹⁸¹ *CIMRM* I, no 42, 1 and fig. 16; Cumont, *The Dura Mithraeum*, 170f.

¹⁸² Hieron., *Epist. ad Laetam*, 107, 2 (= V, p. 146 ed. J. Labourt): *portentuosissima simulacra*; cf. J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome, His Life, Writings and Controversies*, London 1975.

¹⁸³ *CIMRM* I, no 777 and fig. 211.

¹⁸⁴ Vermaseren-van Essen, *Excavations*, 224ff.

the Ruler of the year and during the various months the divine Mithras fills the liturgical calendar with his heroic deeds. During the solstice in December he is born from the rock; in the middle of each month and even of each day he is recorded as the *Sol invictus*; the *equinoxes* in Spring and Autumn have a special significance. During the *equinox* in Spring when the sign of *Aries* appears, Mithras will renew the vegetation and, according to the Neo-Platonists, the generation.¹⁸⁵ The opening of the year by the Ram, as we see it also in the zodiac in the Barberini-Mithraeum, therefore becomes the most significant day for the Mithraists. A line of verse in the Sa Prisca-sanctuary¹⁸⁶ refers to it: *primus et hic aries iusto ordine currit*. By the death of the white bull new life will arise, the new vegetation will start to grow up and the corn will be harvested in Autumn by Mithras himself¹⁸⁷ and the fruit will be picked from the trees.¹⁸⁸ In this way the heavenly signs guided the Roman peasants during many generations; they also guided the Mithraic mysteries and liturgy in their commemoration of the eternal secret of the golden ear of corn.

2) Above the zodiac in the Barberini-Mithraeum a row of altars alternating with shrubs is represented (Pl. XVI). The number seven already suggests an allusion to the seven planets. The sort of tree is not indicated since the painter rendered them in a most impressionistic way, but the two trees on either side of Mithras-Atlas and also some other similar representations suggest a cypress-tree.¹⁸⁹ The trees on the Barberini-painting have three branches. And since sometimes in these branches heads in phrygian caps are hidden¹⁹⁰ one easily supposes that an allusion

¹⁸⁵ R. Turcan, *Mithras Platonius*, 85, 55ff.

¹⁸⁶ Vermaseren-van Essen, *Excavations*, 213ff; H. D. Betz in *Novum Testamentum* 10, 1968, 74ff; Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* II, 27.

¹⁸⁷ Mithras as reaper on the relief at Dieburg: *CIMRM* II, no 1247 and fig. 323; Schwertheim, *Denkmäler Germanien*, 160ff no 123a and Pl. 31; Vermaseren, *Mithras Germanien*, 38, 63 and fig. 15.

¹⁸⁸ *CIMRM* I, no 268, 2 and 3 with fig. 79 (Ostia, Mitreo delle parete dipinte); Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia* (EPRO 3), Leiden 1962, 46f and Pls X-XI.

¹⁸⁹ *CIMRM* I, no 45; Cumont, *Dura Mithraeum*, 185f; see also LeRoy A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography*, fig. 11 (Dura, two cypresses); *CIMRM* I, no 723 and fig. 199 (San Zeno); laurels, *CIMRM* I, nos 182-183 and figs 53-54; Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* I, Pls XVI and XIX.

¹⁹⁰ See above n. 165. See also *CIMRM* II, no 1973 and fig. 514 (Apulum); II, no 2338 and fig. 650 (Kurtowo Konare) with eight altars. The relief from the Esquiline in Rome

to the Mithraic trinity is meant. The altars are burning and they recall sacrificial altars as represented in the mosaic floors of the central aisles in some Mithraea at Ostia¹⁹¹ or in the missing fragment of the famous relief once in the collection of Ottaviano Zeno¹⁹² on which next to the burning altar a dagger is stuck in the ground. On the relief from Nersae (Pl. XX) Sol kneeling before Mithras is pointing a dagger or sword towards the ground and next to the altar when concluding the treaty of companionship. In combination with the cypress which as Fr. Cumont has proved is a tree full of symbolism for the afterlife,¹⁹³ the ever burning altar makes an allusion to the dwelling place in the spheres of the planets in the hereafter, which however is only reserved for the initiates.

3) On two of the pilasters in the Barberini Mithraeum a painting is preserved. On the second column¹⁹⁴ a standing person (Pl. XVIII) is visible wearing a short tunic. On his head he is wearing a crown of laurel-leaves and in his left hand he is holding a large basket full of fruit. He possibly represents one of the initiates who as on the reverse of the great relief at Hedderheim¹⁹⁵ will offer this fruit to the community during the festivity of the sacred meal—hence his crowned head.

On the last column (Pl. XIX) a group of two persons is represented in red.¹⁹⁶ A tall person is standing facing left. It is not clear whether he wears a phrygian cap, but in each case he wears a *tunica manicata* and a long mantle. He holds his right hand (with object?) outstretched towards a second person who on one knee is kneeling before him. This person seems to be nude except for a leaf-crown on his head, and he stretches out both hands towards the other person. This scene immediately recalls various of the initiation-paintings on the podia in the

(*CIMRM* I, no 368 and fig. 106 = here Pl. XXII) is the best comparable monument with the painting in Barberini. Beside Mithras' head there are seven stars. On the top of the cave there are seven trees in a row with six burning altars between them. Underneath the tauroctony seven circular burning altars are represented.

¹⁹¹ *CIMRM* I, no 299 and fig. 83; *CIMRM* I, no 271 is doubtful.

¹⁹² M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* IV, 50 and Pls XI-XVII; cf. J. Baltrušaitis, *La quête d'Isis*, Paris 1967, 49.

¹⁹³ Fr. Cumont, *La stèle du danseur d'Antibes et son décor végétal*, Paris 1942.

¹⁹⁴ G. Annibaldi in *BCR* 71, 1943-1945 [1947], 108 and fig. 5.

¹⁹⁵ *CIMRM* II, no 1083 and fig. 275; Schwertheim, *Denkmäler Germanien*, 67ff no 59a and Taf. 12; Vermaseren, *Mithras Germanien*, 25; 59 and fig. 2.

¹⁹⁶ G. Annibaldi, 107 and fig. 4.

Mithraeum at Capua.¹⁹⁷ Here also we are certainly concerned with the moment at which the Father of the community is preparing the *mystes* before being initiated into one of the grades of the mysteries. The object the *pater* is holding in his outstretched hand is oblong; if a sword, the *mystes* possibly received the grade of *miles*. But both scenes in Barberini and Capua as well are related to two new scenes recently discovered by Prof. R. Bull in Caesarea Maritima¹⁹⁸ but I suppose that we are here concerned not with initiation-scenes as originally has been suggested. The three paintings decorate the southern wall of the Mithraeum and it is likely that they are representing three deeds of Mithras himself. I should like to suggest that these scenes are those of respectively the water-miracle (Mithras holding the bow is clearly visible)—Sol kneeling before Mithras—the Alliance of Sol and Mithras. In this Mithraeum in Caesarea we now find again the same sequence of these scenes as on the side-panels in Marino and Nersae.

One might wonder whether the painters of Dura-Capua-Sa Prisca and Barberini were able to decorate these sanctuaries without having been initiated themselves. Could the *pater* safely tell the secrets of the initiation into the mysteries? It is clearly incredible when such fundamental secrets should have been transmitted (*tradere*) to persons who during a longer period had to work in the Mithraeum but after having finished their task eventually committed the secret doctrine of the cult to strangers. We know how well the secrets have been preserved; hence the difficulties in discovering again the beliefs of these vanished communities. In Dura¹⁹⁹ a *Nama* graffito in honour of a painter has been discovered; for the Mithraeum of Sa Prisca²⁰⁰ I suggested a similar explanation for the graffito on the left side-wall of the cult-niche, but recently Margherita Guarducci proposed another explanation,²⁰¹ which

¹⁹⁷ M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* I, 44f and Pls XXVII-XXVIII.

¹⁹⁸ R. J. Bull, *The Mithraeum at Caesarea Maritima* in J. Duchesne-Guillemin (ed.), *Etudes mithriaques*, 75-89; especially p. 85ff.

¹⁹⁹ *CIMRM* I, no 46; see also in general: E. D. Francis, *Mithraic Graffiti from Dura-Europos* in *Mithraic Studies* II, 424-445. Cf. I. Tóth, *Eine Mithraische Akklamations-inschrift aus Aquincum* in *Acta Classica Debrecen* 10-11, 1974-1975, 151-154.

²⁰⁰ Vermaseren-van Essen, *Excavations*, 118-126.

²⁰¹ Margherita Guarducci, *Il Graffito natus prima luce nel Mitreo di S. Prisca* in U. Bianchi, *Mysteria Mithrae*, 153-169 with fig. 1 who is of the opinion that Mithras himself is meant, but we know that Mithras was not born in November but on 25th December.

however is not wholly convincing. On the other hand one cannot suppose that every sculptor who made a Mithraic relief was an initiate; Christian monuments too are often executed by pagan workshops. And what of the *Stanzino del Principe*²⁰² where all the secrets of Hermetism have been painted on the walls by Giorgio Vasari and his school on the order of principe Francesco who had been instructed by don Vincenzo Borghini?

²⁰² M. D. Bardeschi, *Lo stanzino del Principe in Palazzo Vecchio*, Firenze 1980.

* The graffiti in the Barberini Mithraeum are not mentioned in this book since these have been treated recently by H. Solin in Ugo Bianchi (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae*, 140-142; Margherita Guarducci in *Mysteria Mithrae*, 187f; H. Solin in Ugo Bianchi-Maarten J. Vermaseren (edd.), *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero romano* (EPRO 92), Leiden 1982, 130f.

It was no more possible to discuss two recent publications of my Colleague and friend Robert Turcan, *Mithra et le Mithracisme* (Que sais-je? 1929), Paris 1981; see my forthcoming review in *BiOr* 1982; *Le sacrifice mithriaque: innovations de sens et de modalité* in *Le sacrifice dans l'Antiquité* (Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique XXVII), Vandœuvres-Genève 1981, 341-380.

INDEX*

- abacus* 22
 Abruzzes: see Nesce (Nersae)
 accolade 10/6
 act: creating and soteriological 62; salvation 65
actor 5, 20
 adepts 48, 49
 adherents 51, 76, 80
 administrator 19
 adversaries: Christian adversaries 57
 adviser of Zeus 72
aedicula: aediculam 18 n. 12
Aequecula Bassilla 18
Aequiculi 17, 18
Aequiculus Apronianus 18
 afterlife 81, 87
 "age of anxiety" 69
 Aion 13, 52, 73, 85; see also Chronos, Saturn, statue
 air 37, 39 n. 13
 Alban mountains 4
 Albano 19, 45
 Alexander Severus 46 n. 39
 Alfius Severus 19; *Alfi Severi* 5
 allegorical 56, 57
 allegory: of grotto 60; see also homeric-mithraic, philosophical
 altar 5, 11/7, 13, 15/8, 18, 19, 39, 49, 70 n. 102, 79, 80, 82 n. 165, 84, 86, 87, 87 n. 190
anaxyrides 2, 3 n. 1, 6, 8, 10/4-5, 12, 15/10, 80; see also trousers
 Angleur 84 n. 175
 annual course 62
 anti-Mithraic: see writings
 Antiquity 4, 47, 49, 65, 67
 Antonine period 2, 20, 21, 35, 36, 44
antris: see *vertebat*
Aphrodisias 73
Aphrodite 75
apogenesis 55
 Apollo 64; Apollo-Helios 66
 apologetic: see writings
 apologist: see Firmicus Maternus
 Apronianus 17, 19
 Apulum: see relief
 Aquarius 13, 53
 Aquileia 76
 arch 13, 15/9, 39, 82, 84; triumphal 21, 22, 24, 26, 31, 52; of Trajan at Beneventum 31
 archaeological: data 56; discoveries 48; document 56; evidence 57; finds 48, 55, 84; monuments 59, 72
 architectural: character 37, 42; views 42
 C. Arennius Reatinus 18; *C. Arennium Reatinum* 17 n. 8
 Ares-Mars 65
Aries 13, 53, 59, 65, 65 n. 67, 85, 86
 Aristotle's dialogues 72
arkarius: ark(arius) Aug(usti) n(ostris) 18; see also *rei p(ublicae)*
 arrow 11/8, 14/4, 69, 83
 art 68/2-3; classical 81, 82; Christian 23, 83; Silvinus' 27; traditions 24; see also Greek, Mithraic, Roman, school
ars quadrataria 27, 28; *artis quadratariae* 26
ars sculpturae 27, 28
ars statuaria 27
artifices 28
artis lapidariae: see *neg(otiator)*
artis sutor 26
 artist 15, 22, 24, 25, 27, 30, 45, 65, 68/1, 69, 73, 79, 80; see also German, Italian, Mithraic, Roman
 artistic: conception 27, 65; struggle 22; workshops 34; world 79
 Ascension 15/7, 17, 60, 80, 81
 Asia 63; Asia Minor 26
 Asiatic type 8
astris: see *pater*

* The index has been made by Mr N. Hampartumian (Lichfield).

- astrological 54 n. 24
 astrology 51; see also Graeco-Roman
 astronomical: manuscripts 66; sign 65;
 theories 66
 astronomy 51; see also Graeco-Roman
 ateliers 28
 Atlas: see Mithras
 atmosphere 39
 attire: see eastern
 Attis 62
*Aug(usti) lib(ertus) tab(ularius) p(atrimo-
 nii ?) r(egni) N(orici)* 18
 Augustine 62
 Aurelian 30
 Aurelius Silvinus 26
aureus: aur < ei > s 77
 authors 69, 79; ancient 55; Christian 48;
 classical 48; pagan 48
 Aventine 3, 68

 Balcanian: influence 29; origin 30
balteus 64, 64 n. 66
 Banjevaca: see relief
 Barberini 51, 52, 62, 69; see also fresco,
 Mithraeum, painting, sanctuary
 base: limestone 75
 Basilica: see S. Prisca
 basin: see ritual
 basket 87
 baths 46 n. 39
 battle between Jupiter and Giants 9/1,
 14/1, 16/1, 17, 67/1, 69, 69 n. 89, 71
[Beli?]samus et Severus Venicari filii
sculpsunt 29
 belief 88; see also Mithraic
 belt 3 n. 1, 32; see also tunic, *tunica*
 bench 5, 47, 53, 54, 59, 60; see also *podia*,
 praesepia
 benefactors 19
 Beneventum 31
 Berlin 45
 beverage of the gods 83
 Biesheim: see Mithraeum
 biga 2 n. 1
 bird 13, 66; see also cock, eagle, raven
 birth 74; see also *natus*, Mithraic, Mithras
 Bituriges 26 n. 39
 blessing 52
 blood 6, 63, 65, 68/2-3, 75, 80, 81

 bolt: lightning 16/1
 books: with designs for sculptors 28;
 sketch-books 52
 Borghini Vincenzo 89
bos: boves, bovinum 77
 Boston, Cincinnati Art Museum 2 n. 1
 bow 11/8, 14/4, 69, 83, 88
 bread 81
 brick: brick-stamp 47; brickwork: see
 Roman
 Brigetio 85 n. 180
 bronze 84 n. 175, 85 n. 180
 brooch 12, 13
 bull 1-4, 8, 9, 10/4-5, 12, 13, 14/5-6, 16/4,
 20, 21, 31, 37, 38, 44, 50, 62-65, 65 n. 67,
 67, 70, 74, 75 (of Aphrodite), 76-78, 80,
 81, 81 n. 159, 86; see also Mithras
 bull-fighting 27
 bullslayer 65; see also Mithras
 bullslaying 15, 20, 37, 38, 41, 65, 66, 75,
 76, 80
 bunch of grapes 69
 bundle of twigs 49

 Cacus 77
caelo: see pater
 Caelus 70, 70 n. 101
 Caesarea Maritima: see Mithraeum,
 painting
 calendar: see liturgical
 Callimachus 64
canabae 28
 Cancer 13, 53
 candelabra 42, 43
 cap 6, 9, 13, 14/3-4 & 6, 15/8-10, 16/3, 37,
 62, 77, 78, 80; oriental 8; Phrygian 1-3,
 12, 13, 16/3, 23 n. 28, 62, 63, 78, 82, 82
 n. 165, 86, 87 (?)
 cape 1-3, 10/1, 6, 11/7-8, 12, 13, 14/6,
 15/7-10, 16/3 & 6, 78-81
 Capella Greca of the *coemeterium* of
 Priscilla 45, 45 n. 37, 46 n. 40
 capital: Corinthian 50
 Capitoline: see Mithraeum
 Capricornus 13, 53
 Capua 51, 52, 62, 88; see also fresco,
 Mithraeum, painting, sanctuary
 Cascelia Elegans 74
 Castel Gandolfo 4

- castra* 28
Castra Peregrinorum: see Mithraeum
 Castrimoenium 4
 Catacombs: see painting
 cattle 77
 Cautes 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 13, 15, 20, 21, 21 n. 23, 37, 37 n. 10, 38 n. 11, 39, 41, 50, 51, 53, 54, 58, 59, 66, 70, 70 n. 101, 72, 83; see also statue, torchbearers
 Cautopates 2, 3, 6, 9, 12, 15, 20, 21, 21 n. 23, 37, 37 n. 10, 38, 38 n. 11, 39, 41, 50, 51, 53, 58, 59, 66, 70, 70 n. 101, 72, 83; see also statue, torchbearers
 cave 3, 37-40, 44 n. 29, 60 n. 45, 67, 72, 87 n. 90; see also grotto, Mithraic
 Cave of the Nymphs 56
 Celsus 57
 Centaur 13
 ceremonies 52; see also cult
 Chaos 31
 chapels: see Mithraic
 chariot 50, 79, 81, 82; see also biga, quadriga, Luna, Sol
 child: see Mithras
 chiton: girt 15/9
 Christian: see adversaries, art, authors, church, documents, monuments, opponents, sarcophagi, sources; non-Christian 24
christiani 28
 Christianity 1, 24, 48, 55
 Christians 56
 Chronos-Aion 73
 church: Christian 47
cingulum 64, 64 n. 66; see also girdle
 circle: eternal 71; of the Kosmos and the sky 60; with the zodiacal signs 84
 circular: see movement
 Circus Maximus: see Mithraeum, relief
 citizens 20, 73
 civil population 26
 class: educated 51
 classical 44; see art, authors, literature, text
Claudium 27
 Claudius II: see Gallienus-Claudius II period
 climates 61 n. 45
 cloak 6, 8, 9, 16/1, 37-39, 52, 60, 78
 cloth 14/6, 37, 40; see also Mithras clothing 10/6, 11/8
 clouds 8, 38, 73
 club 10/6, 15/10(?), 16/6(?), 78(?)
 cock 3 n. 1, 49
 code-key 53, 55, 58
 Coelius 67
coemeterium: see Capella Greca, room with seasons
 coins: M. Aurelius 30; younger Faustina 30
 collection: Artur Potocki 3 n. 1; Cratouplei 3 n. 1; Ottaviano Zeno 87
 Cologne 28
 Colonia Agrippinensium 29
 column 15/8, 29, 44, 52, 61, 80, 87; narrative 24; triumphal 21
 commemorative scenes 52
 commentary: see neoplatonic
 Commodus 25, 25 n. 35, 56
 community 19, 51, 52, 84, 87, 88; see Father, Mithraic
 composite: group 23; Mithraic tauroctonies 67; reliefs 18, 24-26, 29, 30, 75; painting 27; representations 22; type 23, 25
 conception: see artistic
 concepts 72 (Orphic), 73, 85 (of Eternal Time)
Concordia 79
 construction of Mithraeum 47
consul: consulibus 17 n. 8
 conversion 48
 copyist 28
corax 52, 66
 Corinthian: see capital
 corn: see ears
 Corniculum 4
 coronation 78, 178 n. 146
 cosmic character 61
 cosmological 22
 costume 38 n. 11, 50; see also Oriental
 couch 14/6, 81 n. 159, 84
 Council of the Olympians 66
 countries: Danubian 74
 Cracow, National Museum 3 n. 1
 crater 54
 creating: see act
 creation 24 (of Mithraic art), 31, 65, 67/1, 70, 71, 72 (of World), 75; see also Roman

- creator 61 n. 45
creatus 53
 crescent 2 n. 1, 3 n. 1
 Cresces 19; *Cresces* 5
 criptoportici 41
 Cronius 56-58, 60
 crown 3, 13, 15/10, 63, 73; leaf 79, 87;
 laurel-leaves 87; radiate 66, 75, 78
 cult 48, 51, 52, 54, 57; ceremonies 24, 63;
 meal 84; niche 5, 49, 51, 53, 54, 59, 70,
 74, 83, 88; private 58, 71; relief 4 n. 2,
 53; room 49; secret 71; state 58, 71; see
 also Mithraic, Mithras, Mithraism,
 Oriental
 Curmillus 29
 custom: see traditional
 cypress-trees 15/9, 82, 86, 87
- Dacia 75; see relief, Apulum, Sarmizege-
 tusa, Tibiscum
 dagger 1 n. 1, 2 n. 1, 8, 10/3, 12, 16/5,
 54, 64, 65, 69, 71, 72 n. 113, 73, 80,
 87(?); dagger-stab 37
 Danubian: see countries, provinces, reliefs
 dark 59; dark-night 50
 darts 13
 day 66, 82, 86
 death 49, 60, 70, 86
 December 71, 86
 Decius 46 n. 39-40
 decoration 36, 41-43, 44 n. 29, 55, 60, 61
decuriones 19
 dedication 17 n. 8
 deeds 77, 86; Herakles' 25, 76; Mithras'
 21, 22, 69-71, 76, 79, 84, 88
 deities 64, 68; local 25; see also Roman,
 Oriental
demiurgos 75
 Desideratus 29
 designs: see books
deus aeternus 74
deus invictus 63, 76
 devilish way 81
devotus: see *pater*
dexiosis 79
 Dieburg 82 n. 165; see Mithraeum, relief
 Diocletian 27; *Dioclitianus* 27; *Dioclitiano*
 28
 Dionysus 64
- dipinti: S. Prisca 53 n. 17, 55, 71
 discoveries: see archaeological
 divine: Julius 73; Mithras 71, 86; hero 83,
 84; leader 79; powers 71; see also dress,
 message, messenger, ruler
 divinities: see Roman
divum 77
 doctrine 24, 51; Greek 57; secret 88; Zoro-
 aster 55; see also Mithraic
 documentation 56
 documents 4, 48, 59, 73; archaeological
 56; Christian 56; literary 56; neo-
 platonist 56; official 73
 dog 1 n. 1, 2 n. 1, 3 n. 1, 4, 8, 12, 20, 65, 80
 dolphins 68 n. 85
 Domizi 17
 Domus Aurea: see painting
d(onium) p(osuit) 5
 dream: Kronos' 72; Saturnus' 31
 dress 9, 50, 66; Dionysus' 66; Eastern 2
 n. 1, 3 n. 1; divine and royal 8;
 oriental 14/4, 16/3; Mithras' 4 n. 2;
 Phrygian 78; tripartite 20; usual 2 n. 1
 drink 84; drinking horn 16/6
 Dura Europos 62 n. 52; see also
 Mithraeum, painting, sanctuary
- eagle 54
 ears of corn 2 n. 1, 3 n. 1, 8, 12, 65, 69,
 75, 86
 earth 10/1, 10/3, 65, 70, 71, 79-81
 Earth 67; Mother Earth 68
 East 34, 47
 eastern: attire 14/6; origin 8; see also
 provinces
 eclectic 58
eclipse 85
 "édicule" 18 n. 12
 educated: people 52; see also class
 Egyptian: see mysteries
 elements 61 n. 45
 Eleusis 74
 Emperor 71, 74
 endurance 5, 21
 Epictetus 18
 epigraphic 73 n. 118
equinox 86
ergasteris 18 n. 12
 eternal: see circle, secret, Time

- Euboulos 56, 60, 61, 61 n. 45
 Euphrates 61, 68
 evening 49
 evil: eye 74; powers 68, 77
 exegesis 57

 faith 48
fabx: see sickle
 Father 61 n. 45, 72, 80; Sun 26; of the
 Community 17 n. 8, 18, 19, 79, 85, 88
 Faustina 30
 feast 18
 Felicissimus: see Mithraeum
 fertility 68
 festivity of sacred meal 87
fibula 1 n. 1, 2 n. 1, 3 n. 1, 9
Fides 79
 finds 74; archaeological 48; epigraphical
 28; minor 23; Mithraic 48
 fire 85
 Firmicus Maternus 48, 77
 fish 13
 flames 69
 flower 31, 61 n. 45
 followers: of Dionysus 64; of Mithras 68,
 73, 76, 81, 84; see also Roman,
 Oriental
 food 84
 Forum Boarium 71
 Francesco principe 89
fratres 79
 freedman 73
 fresco: Barberini 22; Capua 20, 50;
 Marino 20
 friend of mankind 69
 frieze 22, 25, 73
 fruits 18, 79, 86, 87

 Gallienus-Claudius II period 30
 Gallo-Roman workshop 29
 garden scene, scenery 43, 44 n. 29
 garment 10/2, 5, 13, 50, 62-64, 66, 79
 Gemini 13, 53
 generation 86
genesis 55
 genitals 2 n. 1, 3 n. 1, 12
 geography: see Mithraeum
 German: artists 34; influences 23; sculp-
 tors 26; taste 27

 Germania: Inferior 29; Superior 29
 Germany 22, 25, 26, 28-31
 Giants 10 n. 1, 68; see also battle, statue
 Gigantomachy 68
 girdle 1 n. 1, 2 n. 1, 8, 10/2, 64, 64 n. 64
 globe 10/3, 13, 31, 52, 62, 69, 75, 82, 85
 god: light and sun god = Mithras: see
 Mithras
 goddess of the Night: see Luna
 government 71
 governor of Germania Superior 29
 grade 65, 84, 88; grade-bearers 52, 71, 80;
 seven grades 59, 63, 71, 80
 Graeco-Roman: astrology 60; astronomy
 60; mythological scenes 31; world 68
 graffito 49, 61, 88
 grain 18
 grapes: see bunch
 Greek: art 79; hero and saviour = Herakles
 25; see also doctrine, mysteries

 Hadrian 57
 harpé: see sickle
 heaven 40, 60, 65, 79-82, 84; see also
 sky, vault
 heavenly 60, 64, 77, 86
 Heddernheim 70; see also relief
 Hellenistic baroque feature 46
 Heliodromus 80
 Helios-Apollo 66
 Herculaneum 36
 Hercules 25 n. 35, 77: see also deeds
 Hermadio 20
 Hermes 63
 Hermetism 89
 hero 52, 60, 62, 64, 68, 69; see also divine,
 Greek
 heroic 69, 75, 84, 86
 Hesiod 71
 hierarchic 21
 Hilarus 13
 history of Christianity 48, 55
 holy: see sacred
 Homer 63
 homeric 56; homeric-mithraic allegories 56
 Horace 4
 horn 10/4, 13
 Hostilianus 46 n. 39, 40
 hound 8; see also dog

- House of the Nummi: see painting
human race 65
Hyacinthus 51 n. 15
hymn 64
hypostases: of Mithras 83; of the Sun-Mithras 59
- iconography 54 n. 24; see also Mithraic
Imperium: see Roman
impressionism 40, 44
impressionistic 40, 86; see also style
influence 30, 31, 51, 65, 78; see also German, Oriental
initiated 57
initiates 52, 57, 60, 60 n. 45, 77-79, 81, 84, 87, 88
initiation 52, 55, 71, 78, 83, 87 (painting), 88; see also rites
inlaid 1 n. 1
inscription 3, 5, 17-20, 23, 26 n. 39, 27-29, 47, 52, 57, 61, 62, 70, 73, 74, 78; building inscription 28; funeral inscription 28 n. 50, 29
instructed people 52
intarsio 46, 79 n. 153
inventory 47
investiture of Mithras by Sol 78
Invicto deo 5
Iranian: cult 57; dualism 68; god 2; Mitra 48; mysteries 2
irrealism 40
Isis 18 n. 12; see also statue
Italian: artists 22, 31; models 27
Italy 22, 23, 25, 26 n. 39, 31, 74, 76
iunctio dextrarum 31, 49, 79
iuvencum 77
iuvencus 76; see also bull
- jewels 9, 62
Julius: see divine
Jupiter 19, 53, 54, 66, 69 n. 89, 70, 73, 79; see also battle, statue, treaty
Jupiter optimus maximus 29
- Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 1 n. 1
key 85
kings 63, 64
knife 14/3, 73, 80
- Koenigshoffen 29; see also Mithraeum, relief
Kosmokrator 62
Kosmos 47, 52, 55 n. 28, 60, 61 n. 45; see also circle
Kronos 72; Kronos-Saturn 68, 72, 73; see also dream
- Laeta 85
lance 65
Lanuvium 1, 76
laurel: see crown, tree
legend: of Mithras 68, 71; sacred 59
legio II Partica 45; *legio II Parthica* 19
"Leitmotiv" 75
Leningrad, Ermitage 3 n. 1
Leo 13, 53, 84
letter 85
libertus: *lib(ertus)*: see *Aug(usti)...*; *liberti* 19
Libra 13
librarius quadratarius 28
Licio Marcello: see *sacerdote*
life 49, 67, 86
light 49, 65
Limes 27, 29
Lion 52, 85
lion-headed: see Aion
literature: classical 75
liturgical: calendar 86
Liturgy: see Mithras
Livia's villa 44 n. 29
loaf 14/6 (?), 81(?)
Londinium: see relief
Lord of generation 75
luce: see *natus*
Lucrezio Menandro: see Mithraeum, painting
Lucus Aquae Ferentinae 19
Luna 2, 3, 9, 14, 20 n. 23, 21 (in biga), 21 n. 23, 22, 37, 38, 44 (in biga), 50 (in biga), 51, 53, 54, 66, 67, 82
Luni: see relief
- Mackwiller 29; see Mithraeum, relief
magic 51
Mainz 28
Malakbel 70 n. 102, 82 n. 165
mankind 79; see also friend

- mantle 2, 5, 13, 14 n. 1-4, 16/2, 21, 37, 61, 62, 70, 73, 87
manumissio 19
 manuscripts: see astronomical
 Marcellino 45, 46 n. 40
 Marcus Aurelius 21, 30
 Marino 4 (grotto), 23, 50, 52, 68, 71, 81, 83, 88: see also fresco, Mithraeum, painting, sanctuary
 Mars 53, 54, 65 n. 67; Mars-Ares 65
 Martialis Quadratorius 28 n. 50
 Master 29, 30
 Mauls 30; see also relief
Maximo 17 n. 8
 meal: sacred 22, 52, 58, 80, 81, 83, 84; see also festivity, cult, repast
 meat 81
 members 19, 52
 Mercury 53, 54
 Merida 85
 message: divine 20
 messenger: divine 66; see also corax-*kêrux*
 method of painting 45
 Milan 51 n. 14
miles 51, 65, 88
 military: character 20; population 26
 miracle 70, 83
 miraculous 79, 83
miuificos 28
 Mithraeum 42-44, 47-49, 51, 55, 57, 58, 60, 84, 88; degli Animali, Ostia 81 n. 159; Barberini 12, 20, 35, 39 n. 4, 50, 62, 67, 68, 76, 80, 81, 83-88; Biesheim 23 n. 28; Caesarea Maritima 88; Capitoline 25; Capua 41, 44, 47-50, 59, 83, 88; Castra Peregrinorum 4 n. 2; Circus Maximus 50; Dieburg 27; Dura Europos 25, 61, 68, 69, 74, 76, 77, 85; Felicissimus 60, 63; Königshoffen 23, 23 n. 28, 28; Lucrezio Menandro, Ostia 43, 43 n. 26, 44 n. 29; Mackwiller 23, 28; Marino 4 n. 4, 5, 12, 19, 19 n. 13, 21, 35, 55 n. 28, 57, 62, 67, 69, 82; Neuenheim 30; Ostia 1 n. 1, 87; Pareti Dipinte, Ostia 43, 44 n. 29, 45 n. 37; Pettau 51 n. 15, 72, 73, 80, 82; Ponza 20 n. 23, 47 n. 3, 50, 58 n. 39, 84; Rome 24 n. 31; S. Giovanni 35 n. 2; S. Prisca 3, 12, 18, 26, 48, 49, 55, 58, 59, 62, 66, 68, 70, 77, 83, 88; S. Silvestro 17; S. Stefano Rotondo 35 n. 2, 64, 67, 74; Sette Porte, Ostia 43, 44 n. 29, 45 n. 37; Sette Sfere, Ostia 35 n. 2, 53-56, 58-60, 65; Vulci 4 n. 7; Zollfeld 18; sacred geography of a Mithraeum 53, 58; see also construction
 Mithraic: allegories 56; art 24, 25, 67, 68, 71, 75, 81, 81 n. 159, 82-84; artists 21; belief 52; birth 71; cave 61; chapels 24 n. 31; community 18, 19, 52, 60; conception 22; cult 4, 57, 58, 79, 88; decoration 43; doctrine 48, 58, 85; documents 4; figure 44; finds 48; grotto 4; iconography 31, 66; inscription 19; monuments 4, 23 n. 28; mysteries 56, 58, 60, 76, 83, 85, 86; painting 22, 36, 44; reliefs 22, 29, 78, 82, 89; religion 58; sanctuary 17, 25, 43, 55, 58, 59; scenes 39; story 22; tauroctony 67; temples 2, 3, 47, 48, 76; world 54
 Mithraism 1, 1 n. 1, 23, 24, 26, 31, 48, 49, 51, 55-58, 72, 73, 84; philosophical interpretation 24; western 51
 Mithraists 26, 50, 57, 68, 86
 Mithras 5, 10/6, 11/8, 13, 14/4, 14/6, 15/7, 15/10, 16/6, 20, 21, 22, 25, 37, 37 n. 10, 38, 38 n. 11, 39, 44 n. 29, 45, 49, 50, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61 n. 45, 62-65, 65 n. 67, 66, 68, 74, 77, 79, 81, 83, 84, 86, 87 n. 190; birth 17 n. 8, 59, 65, 69, 70, 71, 83, 88 n. 201; carrying the bull 74, 76; riding the bull 10/4, 16/4, 17, 74, 75; struggle with bull 31, 74; bullslayer 1 n. 1, 2 n. 1, 3 n. 1, 8, 9, 12, 35, 40, 44, 61, 67, 74, 84; child 69, 82; cloths 37; cult 1, 1 n. 1, 71; deeds 21, 22; dress 4/2; hunter 25, 27; light and Sun god 47; Liturgy 63, 78, 86; prince 63; reaper 86 n. 187; relief 1 n. 1, 2 n. 1, 3 n. 1; rockbirth 10/3, 14/3, 16/3, 17, 31, 69, 70, 70 n. 101, 72, 73, 82, 86; statue 1 n. 1, 3 n. 1, 76; suit 38; tauroctone 3 n. 1, 24 n. 31, 50, 57, 75, 76; taurophorus 10/5, 14/5, 17, 74-76, 76 n. 131; trinity 82, 87; ascending Sol's chariot 81, 82; see also alliance, deeds, divine, followers, hypostases, investiture, legend, treaty

- Mitra 48
mitra 62
 Mogontiacum 29
monstruosum portentum 85
 months 86; see also ruler
 monuments 1, 15, 17, 25, 30, 31, 51, 55, 59, 73, 75, 76, 87 n. 190; archaeological 59, 72; Christian 89; signed 29
 morning 49
 mosaic 53-56, 59, 60, 65, 70, 81 n. 159, 87
 mosaicism 56
 Mother: see Earth
 mother of all beings = Nyx 72
 mourning 8
 movements 51; circular 59; religious 53
mystae 77, 80, 88
 mysteries 24 n. 3, 48, 57, 60, 88; Egyptian 57; Greek 57; Iranian 2; Oriental 30; see also Mithraic
 mysteriosophical 66
 myth 71; myth of Phaeton 26, 27
 mythological: drama 67; significance 59; see also Graeco-Roman

Nama 88
natura 70
 naturalism 38, 40
 naturalistic 40; see also style
 naturalness 37
natus 53
natus prima luce 49
 necklaces 78
nectar 83
neg(otiator) artis lapidariae 29
 Nemrud-Dagh 63
 neopythagorists 57
 Neoplatonic: commentary 54; documents 56; interpretation 51; philosophers 48; school 48; sources 55; theories 55
 Neo-platonism 24, 25
 Neoplatonists 48, 56, 86
 Nero 24, 29, 41, 78
 Nersae: see Nesce
 Nesce 19, 23, 51, 69, 71, 81, 83, 88; see relief, sanctuary
 niche 41, 49, 53, 66; see cult
Nicostratum 28
 night 65; see also Nyx, realm
 Nike-Victoria 65

nimbus 9, 10/6, 14/7, 13, 14, 38, 66, 78, 79
N(oric): see *Aug(usti)*
 Noricum: see Virunum
 northern: see provinces, style
 nude 78-80, 87
 Numenius 56-59, 75
 Nymphs: see Cave
 Nyx 72

 oath 79
observatories 55
 Oceanus 37, 39 n. 12, 50, 52, 70, 70 n. 101
 Oceanus-Saturn 14/2
 Odyssey 54
 Olympians 67, 68
 Olympus 79
 omphale 25
 opponents: Christian 48
ordo 18
Orfito 17 n. 8
 Oriental: cap 8; costume 11/8; cult 4, 18; deity 62; dress 14/4, 16/3, 72, 80, 81, 83; followers 51; influence 30; king 63; mysteries 30; origin 29; painting 19; religion 56
 ornamental painting 44
 orphic 72
 Osterburken: see relief
 Ostia 1 n. 1, 3, 47, 60, 72 n. 113; see also Mithraeum, painting, sanctuary
 Ouranos 68 n. 2-3, 72
 outfits 37

 pagan: authors 48; workshops 89
 paint 4 n. 2
 painted: soil 15/9; see also relief
 painter 8, 20, 21, 40, 52, 62 n. 52, 66, 67, 69, 80-82, 84, 86, 88
 painting: 47, 52; Barberini 12, 14, 15, 17, 21, 22, 27, 30, 31, 35, 38 n. 11, 39-41, 44-46, 50, 62, 66-68, 70, 76-78, 80-87, 87 n. 190; Caesarea Maritima 88; Capua 20-22, 37, 38, 39 n. 13, 40, 44, 48-50, 63, 83; Catacombs 24; Domus Aurea 27; Dura Europos 25, 68, 69, 73, 74, 76-78; House of the Nummii 35 n. 2; Marino 5, 8, 9, 11/8, 12, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 27, 30, 36-41, 44, 45, 47, 50, 62, 63, 66, 67,

- 68-70, 74, 76-80, 82, 83; Lucrezio Menandro 43; Ostia 35 n. 2; Pareti Dipinte 43; S. Giovanni, Rome 35 n. 2; S. Prisca 60, 63, 68, 83; S. Stefano Rotondo 35 n. 2, 67; Sette Porte, Ostia 43; Virunum 18; figurative 36; garden 44 n. 29; ornamental 36; see also composite, initiation, method, oriental, ornamental, style
- Pallas 57
- Pannoniis* 27
- Pareti Dipinte: see Mithraeum, painting
- Paris, Musée Rodin 3 n. 1
- pater* 19, 51, 52, 62, 71, 78, 79, 88; *patrem* 17 n. 8; *pater, caelo devotus et astris* 65; *patre sacrorum*: see *sacerdote*
- peasants: see Roman
- pecunia*: (*sua pecunia*) 17
- pedestal 82 n. 165
- people: see educated, instructed
- peperino (sexum albanum)* 19
- peplos* 8, 64 n. 64
- per quos consumimur ipsi* 85
- Persian 57, 60; deity 62; see also Iranian
- person 14/3; kneeling 11/8, 14/4, 87; reclining 14/6; standing 16/3, 87
- petra genetrix* 70
- Pettau = Poetovio 76; see also Mithraeum, relief, sanctuary
- Phaeton: see myth
- philosophers 56-58, 60; see also Neo-platonic
- philosophical: allegory 55; interpretation 57; see also Mithraism; school 26; system 58
- philosophos, philosophis* 28
- Phrygian: see cap
- pictura* 18
- piece: master-piece 27, 81
- Pietro 45, 46 n. 40
- pilasters 87
- pileatus* 62; *pileum phrygium*: see Phrygian cap
- Pisces* 13, 53, 59, 85
- planetary sign 75
- planets 9, 37, 53, 54, 59-62, 75, 85-87
- plastic 40; see also style
- plasticity 37, 39, 40, 44
- plate: see terra sigillata
- platonism 51, 56, 57
- Pliny 4
- podia* 47, 50, 54, 58, 87
- poet 57; see Statius
- Poetovio: see Pettau
- polychrome: see style
- polychromous 40
- Pompeian Fourth Style 37, 42
- Pompeii 36
- Ponza: see Mithraeum
- popular 56, 67, 82
- popularity 76
- population 74
- Porphyry 48, 54, 56-60, 65, 75, 77
- praesepeia* 47
- prayer of Caecilia Elegans 74
- Primaporta 44 n. 29
- primus et his aries iusto ordine currit* 86
- primus inter pares* 71
- prince: see Mithras
- Priscilla 45, 46 n. 40
- private: see cult
- privilege 63
- Probus 30
- processions 52, 84
- Proclus 72
- profane: wall decoration 43; wall painting 44
- pro salute*: see *Iupiter optimus maximus*
- protection 71
- protector 63
- Protrepticus* 72
- provinces 31; Danubian 22, 75; Eastern 24; Northern 28, 51; Rhine 25, 75; Rhine/Raetian 22
- public revenues 17
- purification 52
- purity 77
- Quadraro 72 n. 113; see also relief
- quadratararius* 28
- Quadratus 28 n. 50
- quadriga 26; see also Sol
- quiver 3 n. 1, 69
- Raetia 22
- Raetian: group 22; order 23 n. 28
- Ram 86
- raven 2 n. 1, 3 n. 1, 9, 13, 65, 66, 80

- rays 2 n. 1, 3 n. 1, 9, 10/6, 12, 13, 15/7,
 21, 62, 66, 81
 realism 40
 realistic 37, 38, 40
 realm of the night 50
rei publicae *ark(arius)* 17
reipublicae servus 19
 relief: Apulum 75; Banjevaca 84 n. 175;
 Bologna 85; Circus Maximus 21 n. 23,
 50, 76; collection Ottaviano Zeno 87;
 Dacia 78; Danubian 22, 30; Dieburg 25,
 86 n. 187; Esquiline 86 n. 190; Hedder-
 heim 25, 82 n. 165, 87; Königshoffen
 23; London 59; Luni 2 n. 1; Mackwiller
 23; Maals 23 n. 28; Nersae 15, 17, 20-
 22, 27, 50, 67, 68, 70, 71, 74, 77, 78,
 80, 87; Neuenheim 62, 73, 74, 78;
 Osterburken 25, 69 n. 89, 78; Pettau =
 Poetovio 71, 73, 82; Quadraro 76; Rome
 1 n. 1, 2 n. 1, 3 n. 1, 25, 31, 78 n. 146;
 Rückingen 25; Sette Sfere 53(?); Siscia
 59; Tirsgor 61; Treves 69, 82; Verona
 50; Virunum 78; Yugoslavia 59; narra-
 tive 30; painted 64; see also composite,
 cult, Mithraic, Silvinus
 religion 54; see also Mithraic, Oriental
 religious: ideas 58; see also movements
renatus 53
 repast 14/6, 17, 81 n. 159; sacred 59,
 62, 80, 83, 84; see also meal
 restoration: of temple, sanctuary 18
 revenues 17
 Rhine: group 22; order 23; see also
 provinces
 rhyton 15/10 (?)
 Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts
 3 n. 1
 "Rindschulter" 78
 ring 63, 69; see also zodiacal
 rites: initiation 52, 84; secret 48
 "Ritterschlag" 78
 ritual 57; ritual basin 53, 54
 rock 2 n. 1, 5, 11/8, 14/4, 37, 38, 73, 83;
 see also Mithraic
 rocky: border 9; cave 3 n. 1; couch 14/2;
 soil 2 n. 1, 8; stone 73; vault 37
 Roman 4, 8; art 40, 79; artists 22; brick-
 work 36 n. 4; creation 23; divinities 29;
 Empire 5, 31, 34, 58, 71; followers 51;
 models 26 n. 39; origin 3 n. 1, 23;
 peasants 86; period 4 n. 17; sarcophagi
 27; soil 2; state-cult 71; stoa 24; tri-
 clinium-room 49; wall painting 41, 42,
 44; workshop 1 n. 1, 2 n. 1
 Rome 1, 1 n. 1, 2 n. 1, 3, 4, 17, 19, 22, 23,
 23 n. 28, 24, 24 n. 31, 25, 27, 28, 30,
 31, 35 n. 2, 51, 60, 76
 Rome, Capitoline Museum 70 n. 102, 82
 n. 165
 room with the seasons in the coemeterium
 of Pietro and Marcellino 45, 46 n. 40
 Roumania: see Tirsgor
 Rückingen: see relief
 Rufus 29
 ruler: divine 63; of the seasons and months
 85; of the seven planets 85; sovereign
 71; of the world 79; of the Year 86
sacerdote Licinio Marcello patre sacrorum
 18
sacramentum: see oath
 sacred: events, 84; number 62; see also
 legend, meal, Mithraeum, repast, story,
 tales
 sacrifice: see suovetaurilia
 sacrificial 87; see altar
 Sagittarius 13, 53
 salvation: see act
 S. Giovanni: see Mithraeum, painting
 S. Maria Capua Vetere: see Mithraeum
 S. Prisca 46, 46 n. 40, 51, 52, 57, 78 n. 153,
 85, 88; see dipinti, Mithraeum, painting,
 sanctuary, temple
 S. Sebastiano 45, 46 n. 40
 S. Silvestro: see Mithraeum
 S. Stefano Rotondo: see Mithraeum, pain-
 ting, sanctuary
 sanctuary 20, 23, 23 n. 28, 47, 48, 52;
 Barberini 12, 81, 88; Capua 50, 84, 88;
 Dura Europos 61, 84, 88; Marino 5, 8,
 47; Nersae 18; Ostia 1; Pettau 76;
 Rome 1 n. 1, 2; S. Prisca 84, 86, 88;
 S. Stefano Rotondo 35 n. 2; Sette Porte
 60; Sette Sfere 53, 60; see also
 Mithraeum, Mithraic
 sarcophagi: Christian 24; of Hostilianus
 46 n. 39-40; Roman 17
 Sarmizegetusa 5

- Sarrebourg 30
 Saturn 10/2, 16/2, 17, 53, 54, 59, 63, 66, 69, 69 n. 89, 70, 70 n. 102, 72 n. 113, 73, 74, 85, 85 n. 180; Aion-Saturn 85; see also dream, Kronos, Oceanus
 Saturn-Aion 74, 85
 saviour: see Greek
 scales 13
 scheme 21, 23 n. 28, 45
scholam 18 n. 12
 school: of art 23, 24; neoplatonic 48; philosophical 26; of sculptors 23
 Scorpio, Scorpion 1 n. 1, 2 n. 1, 3 n. 1, 8, 12, 13, 20, 53
 scorpion 65, 80
sculpserunt 29
 sculptor 20, 21, 23, 26, 28, 30, 69, 89
sculptura 28; *sculpturae*: see *ars*
 sculptural workshop 28
 sculpture 29, 47
 seasons: see room, ruler
 Seberus = Severus 19
 secret: doctrine 88; eternal 86; scenes 83; see also cult, rites
 seller of books 28
semen 80
 Seneca 63
Senecio 28
 Septimius Severus 45
 Serapis: see statue
Serapis 18 n. 12
servus 19; *servus publicus* 19; see also *reipublicae*
 Sette Porte: see Mithraeum, painting, sanctuary
 Severan period 19 n. 15, 21, 27, 30, 35, 36, 45, 46
 Severus 19, 20
Severus Venicarii: see *[Beli?]samus*
 sheath 64
 shield 68
 shrubs 43, 86
 sickle 10/2, 16/2, 50, 63, 68 n. 2-3, 70, 71
 Sidonius Apollinaris 28
signa 18 n. 12
 Silvestrius Perpetus 26
 Silvestrius Silvini(i)us 26, 28
 Silvinus: relief 28
simulacrum 28
 sky 5, 8, 9/1, 37, 65, 68; heavenly 47, 61, 68, 82; see also circle
 slave 29
 snake 1 n. 1, 2 n. 1, 3 n. 1, 8, 10/1, 13, 14/1, 16/1, 20, 54, 65, 67, 68, 80, 85
socii 79
sodales 79
 soil 82, 83
 Sol 2 n. 1, 3 n. 1, 9, 20, 20 n. 23, 21, 21 n. 23, 22, 37, 38, 38 n. 12, 46, 46 n. 40, 50, 51, 53, 54, 59, 66, 78, 79 n. 153, 83; in quadriga 2, 15/7, 81, 82; kneeling before Mithras 10/6, 15/10, 16/6, 17, 74, 77, 78, 78 n. 146, 80, 87, 88; see also alliance, investiture, Mithras, treaty
Sol invictus 50, 86
Sol invictus Mythras (sic) 18
 solar character 62
 soldiers 19
Solis cum quadriga 28
 solstice 18, 86; see also summer
sophistes 71
 soteriological: see act
 souls 55, 60, 61 n. 45
 sources: 48, 58; Christian 48; of light 52; literary 28, 48; see also neoplatonic
spelaeum 61, 76; *spelaeum Solis invicti Mithrae* 17
spelunca 47
spica 65; see also corn-ears
 spring 37 n. 10, 53, 60 (equinox), 61 n. 45, 65 (equinox), 86
 St. Jerome 85
 stab: see dagger
 staff 13, 15/8, 63, 70, 73
Stanzino del Principe 89
 stars 5, 8, 9, 12, 21, 37, 38, 39, 47, 52, 61, 62, 66, 82, 87 n. 190
 state-cult: see Roman
 Statius 24
statuaria: see *ars*
 statue: Aion 74, 85; Cautes 49; Cautopates 49; Giant 68; Isis 18; Jupiter 29; Mithras 1 n. 1, 3 n. 1; Serapis 18
 Stoa 24, 26, 51
 stonequarries 19

- stones: 10/1, 3; precious 9
 story 27, 31, 72; of bull fighting 27; sacred 21, 22, 60, 67
 stream 61
 stucco 8, 20 n. 23, 49, 52, 68, 70, 85
studiosus 58; *studiosus astrologiae* 51
 style: decoration 44; frame 42; impressionistic 37, 39, 45; line 42-45; narrative 52; naturalistic 37, 44; "le nouveau style" 29; of painting 36, 37, 39, 44, 45; plastic 37, 44; polychrome 37; local northern development of style 30
 stylistic: characteristics 40; development 40
 suit: see Mithras
 Sulpicius Scribonius Proculus 29
 summer 45, 49, 53; summer-solstice 17 n. 8, 37 n. 10
 sun 18, 26, 37 n. 10, 64 n. 64; see also hypostases
 suovetaurilia-sacrifice 84
 supernatural: appearance 38; event 39
 suppliant 78
 surrealism 40, 44
sutor: see *artis*
 sword 3 n. 1, 64, 65 n. 67, 87(?), 88(?)
 symbolic: contexts 57; decoration 61; group 84; interpretation 47, 51; meaning 38 n. 12, 47, 48, 51, 66, 82; place 76
 symbolism 87; colour symbolism 37 n. 10, 49; light symbolism 47
 symbols 52, 55, 58-60, 61 n. 45, 68, 69, 82, 85
Sympronianum 28
syndexii 79

tab(ularius): see *Aug(usti)*
 tales: sacred 24
 Tapacae 28
Taso 28
 tauroctony 20, 24, 25, 35, 39, 43, 49-51, 53, 58-61, 65-67, 70, 73, 75, 75 n. 127, 76, 82, 84, 85, 87 n. 190
 Taurus 13, 53, 65 n. 67, 75
 Tellus 37, 50, 52
 temple 52; Aventine 3; Nersae 18; Rome 2; S. Prisca 49; see also Mithraic
templum vetustate collapsum 18
 terra sigillata 23, 76 (plate)
 Testament: Old and New Testament 24
 testicles 8
 text 28, 48, 55-57, 65, 72, 78; classical 62
thema mundi 55
 theme 67, 79
 theological 57; order 31
theologoumena 72
 theology 57; Orphic 72
 theory 49, 52, 56, 75; see astronomical, neoplatonic
 thief 77
 thunderbolt 10/1, 14/1, 68, 69 n. 89, 70, 79
 tiara: 5, 6, 8, 9, 10/3-5, 62; see also Phrygian cap
 Tiber 60
 Tibiscum 19
 Time 62, 71, 85 (concept of Eternal Time)
 Tirsor: see relief
 Tiridates 78
 tondo 45
 torch 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10/3, 12, 13, 14/3, 49, 69, 73, 75
 torchbearers 2, 9, 20 n. 23, 21, 22, 37, 39, 40, 45, 49, 50, 53, 54, 58, 59, 62, 66, 67; see also Cautes, Cautopates
 towns: coastal 24 n. 31
 trader 51
tradere 88
 tradition 48, 56, 69, 77; national 49; painting 44 n. 29
 traditional 24; custom 48
 traditions 30, 41; see also art
 Trajan 31
transitus dei 76, 77
 treasurer 17
 treaty: between Jupiter and Saturn 31, 69, 71, 73, 78; between Sol and Mithras 11/7, 15/8, 16/5, 17, 31, 69, 77, 79, 80, 87
 trees 13, 16/2, 39, 43, 82 n. 165, 84, 86, 87 n. 190; cypress 15/9, 82, 86, 87; laurel 49
 Treves 82 n. 165; see also relief
 tribe: see Bituriges
 Triclinium room: see Roman
 trinity: see Mithras
 tripod 14/6, 81

- troops 74
trousers 1 n. 1, 6, 10/3, 13, 14/6, 15/8-9, 16/3, 63
tunic, *tunica* 2 n. 1, 4, 5 (belted), 6, 9 (girt), 14, 14/3-4 & 6, 15/8, 16/3 (girt), 37-39, 62, 63, 66, 80, 81, 87
tunica manicata: 1 n. 1, 2 n. 1 (girt), 3 (girt), 8, 10/3-5, 12, 13, 15/7 & 10
Turranius Dil... 20
tutela: see protection
twigs: see bundle
typology 20
- “Umwelt” 24
Uranos: see Ouranos
“Urgott” 70
- Vasari Giorgio 89
vassals: kings 63
vault 5, 8 (grotto), 22, 37-41, 47, 52, 60 (heaven), 61 (grotto), 82 (arch), 84 (arch)
vegetation 85, 86
veil 10/2, 16/2, 70, 73
Venus 53, 54, 65 n. 67, 75, 75 n. 127
Verona: see relief
vertebat boves alienos semper in antris, sicut et Cacus Vulcani filius ille 77
vessel 13
Vesuve 36
Vetustate collapsum 17; see also *templum*
Via: Appia 4; Aurelia 4; Cassia 4; Nomentana 4; Ostiensis 4; Praenestina 2 n. 1; Tiburtina 4
Victoria: see Nike
Victory 73
villa 45, 46 n. 40; *villae* 4; see also Livia
Virgo 13, 53
- virum abactorem bovum* 77
Virunum: see painting, relief
Vulci: see Mithraeum
- wall painting 36, 41, 42, 44, 45, 59
war-like character 63
warrior 64 n. 66
water 13, 39 n. 13, 83
water-miracle 11/8, 14/4, 17, 75, 82, 83, 88
week 59, 85 n. 180
Wega 53
West 24, 34, 47
western: see Mithraism, provinces
wine 4, 81
winter 37 n. 10, 49, 53, 59
wise: god, goddess 72
wood 61
works: beneficent 19
workshop 2 n. 1, 26, 29 (local), 34, 75, 76; see also artistic, Gallo-Roman, pagan, Roman
world: see artistic, ruler
worship 3
wound 1 n. 1, 2 n. 1, 3 n. 1, 8, 65
writings: anti-Mithraic apologetic 48
written: documentation 56; documents 48; sources 55
- Yugoslavia: see Banjevaca, relief
- Zeus: see adviser
zodiac 13, 39, 47 n. 3, 52-54, 58 n. 39, 85, 86
zodiacal: ring 82; signs 53, 58, 59, 62, 65, 69, 75, 84, 85
Zoilos 73
Zollfeld: see Mithraeum
Zoroaster 61 n. 45; see also doctrine

LIST OF PLATES

- Frontispiece Head of Mithras at Marino (detail). Photograph: Antonio Solazzi (Rome).
- Pl. I The interior of the Mithraeum at Marino looking towards the entrance. Photograph: Antonio Solazzi (Rome).
- Pl. II The altar of Cresces (Marino). Photograph: Antonio Solazzi (Rome).
- Pl. III The painting on the rear wall (Marino). Photograph: Antonio Solazzi (Rome).
- Pl. IV Mithras as bullslayer (detail). Photograph: Antonio Solazzi (Rome).
- Pl. V Cautes and two side panels (detail). Photograph: Antonio Solazzi (Rome).
- Pl. VI Lower part of Cautes and two side panels (detail). Photograph: Antonio Solazzi (Rome).
- Pl. VII Cautopates and two side panels (right). Photograph: Antonio Solazzi (Rome).
- Pl. VIII Lower part of Cautopates and two side panels (right). Photograph: Antonio Solazzi (Rome).
- Pl. IX Cautes near the entrance of the Mithraeum at Marino. Photograph: Antonio Solazzi (Rome).
- Pl. X Cautopates near the entrance of the Mithraeum at Marino. Photograph: Antonio Solazzi (Rome).
- Pl. XI Painting in the Barberini Mithraeum at Rome. Photograph: Antonio Solazzi (Rome).
- Pl. XII Mithras as bullslayer in the Barberini Mithraeum. Photograph: Antonio Solazzi (Rome).
- Pl. XIII Head of Mithras (detail). Photograph: Antonio Solazzi (Rome).
- Pl. XIV The left half of the painting in the Barberini Mithraeum. Photograph: Antonio Solazzi (Rome).
- Pl. XV The right half of the same painting. Photograph: Antonio Solazzi (Rome).

- Pl. XVI The upper part of the same painting. Photograph: Antonio Solazzi (Rome).
- Pl. XVII Detail of the painting in the Barberini Mithraeum: the sacred repast. Photograph: J. J. V. M. Derksen (Vianen).
- Pl. XVIII Standing person holding a basket. Painting in the Barberini Mithraeum. Photograph after *BCR* 71, 1943-1945 [1947], 107 fig. 5.
- Pl. XIX Initiation-scene. Painting in the Barberini Mithraeum. Photograph after *BCR* 71, 1943-1945 [1947], 106 fig. 4.
- Pl. XX The relief from Nersae. Rome, National Museum. Courtesy Prof. Dr. Elisa Lissi-Caronna. Photograph: Caldarazzo.
- Pl. XXI Relief from Neuenheim. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum. Courtesy Dr. Bernhard Cämmerer.
- Pl. XXII Relief from the Esquiline in Rome. Courtesy Prof. Dr. Carlo Pietrangeli. Photograph: Archivio Fotografico Gall. Musei Vaticani, Neg. no. XXI.15.35.
- Pl. XXIII Relief from Dieburg. Courtesy and photograph: Kreis- und Stadtmuseum, Dieburg.
- Pl. XXIV Statue from Rome or its immediate surroundings, now in a private collection in the U.S.A. Courtesy and photograph: Raffaello Amati, London (1977).
- Pl. XXV Relief from the Via Praenestina and now in Boston, Cincinnati Art Museum. Photograph after *Apollo* 1971, 253 fig. 18.
- Pl. XXVI Relief probably from Rome and now in Amsterdam, collection M. J. Vermaseren. Photograph: Margreet B. de Boer.
- Pl. XXVII Relief probably from Rome. Rome, private collection. Courtesy Prof. Dr. Elisa Lissi-Caronna.
- Pl. XXVIII Relief probably from Rome and now in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond (U.S.A.). Courtesy and photograph: Virginia Museum, Richmond.
- Pl. XXIX Fragment of a relief probably from Rome; now in Cracow, National Museum. Courtesy and photograph: National Museum, Cracow.

- Pl. XXX Relief probably from Rome and now in Leningrad, Hermitage. Courtesy and photograph through the late Prof. Dr. W. Blawatsky.
- Pl. XXXI Fragment of a marble statue possibly from Rome; now in Paris, Musée Rodin. Courtesy: Prof. Dr. le comte du Mesnil du Buisson.
- Pl. XXXII Relief from the Via Tiburtina. Rome, National Museum. Courtesy Prof. Dr. Elisa Lissi-Caronna.
-
- Fig. 1 Situation of the village of Marino in the Alban Mountains. Design: Mrs. Franca E. Derksen-Janssens (Vianen).
- Fig. 2 Situation of the Mithraeum at Marino. Design: Ottorino Cappabianca (Rome).
- Fig. 3 Triumphal arch of Trajan at Benevent. Design after Hassel, *Trajansbogen*, Beilage 1.
- Fig. 4 Arch of Trajan at Benevent. Design after Hassel, *Trajansbogen*, Beilage 2.
- Fig. 5 The Mithraeum at Marino. Design: Ottorino Cappabianca (Rome).
- Fig. 6 The Mithraeum in the gardens of Palazzo Barberini. Design: Ottorino Cappabianca (Rome).

PLATE I



PLATE II



PLATE III



PLATE IV



PLATE V



PLATE VI



PLATE VII



PLATE VIII



PLATE IX



PLATE X





PLATE XII



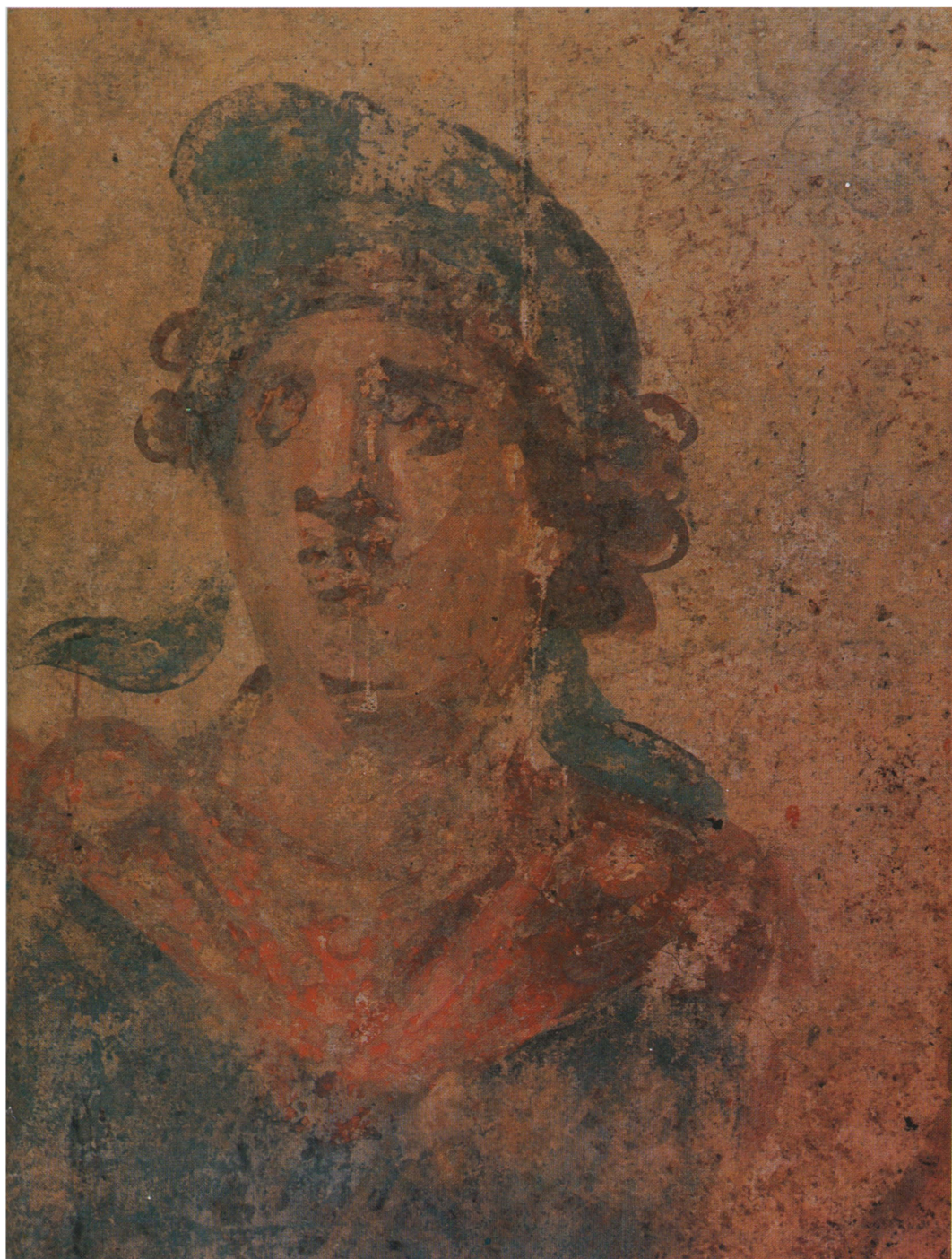


PLATE XIV





PLATE XVI



PLATE XVII



PLATE XVIII



PLATE XIX

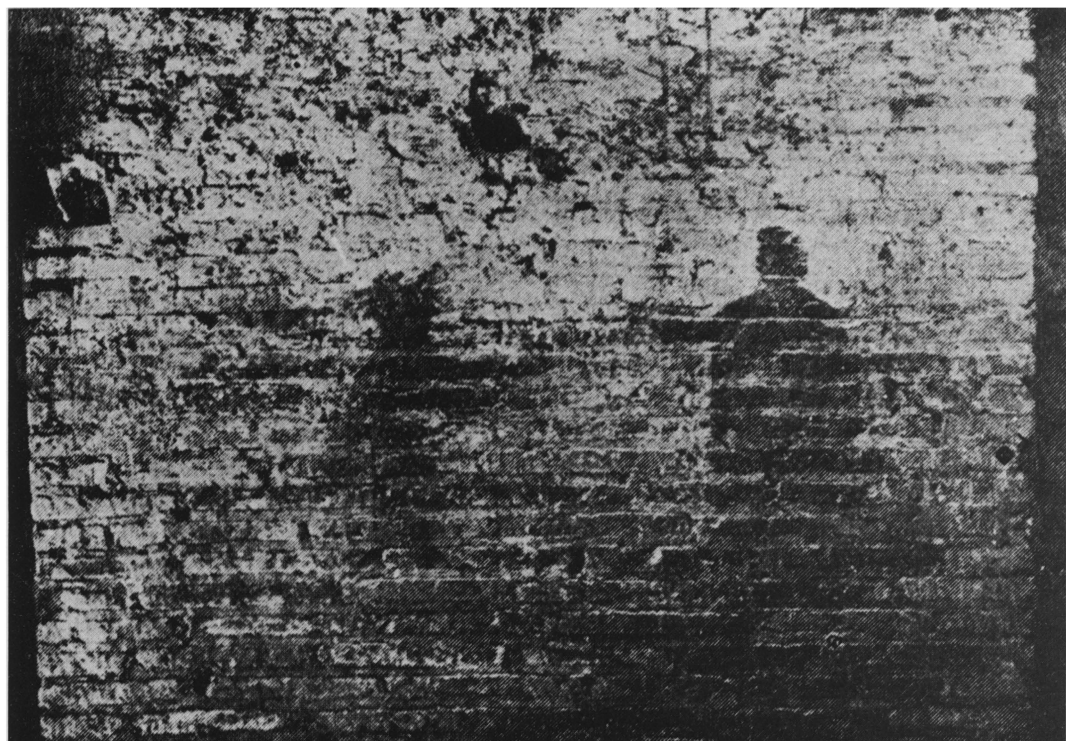


PLATE XX





PLATE XXII





PLATE XXIV





PLATE XXVI





PLATE XXVIII



PLATE XXIX



PLATE XXX





PLATE XXXII



